

THE
HISTORIE
OF
XENOPHON:

CONTAINING
The Ascent of CYRVS into the
HIGHER COUNTRIES.

Wherein is described
THE ADMIRABLE
JOURNEY OF TEN
thousand GRECIANS from ASIA the Lesse into the
Territories of BABYLON, and their retrait from
thence into GREECE, notwithstanding the
opposition of all their Enemies.

Whereunto is added
A COMPARISON OF THE
ROMAN MANNER OF WARRES
with this of our Time, out of
IVSTVS LIPSIVS.

Translated by *JOH. BINGHAM.*



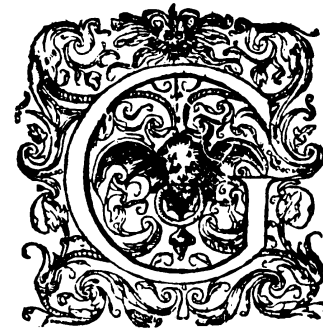
LONDON,
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1623.



TO THE RIGHT VVOR-
SHIPFVLL, HVGH HAMERSLEY,
ONE OF THE ALDERMEN AND CORO-
NELS OF THE CITIE OF LONDON, AND
President of the worthy Societie of CITIZENS exercising

Armes in the ARTILLERIE Garden of LONDON;
and to all the CAPTAINES and Generous
CITIZENS professing Armes there.



ENTLEMEN: I doe not
present this Translation unto
you, to the end to incite you to
Militarie cogitations. Your
forwardnesse that way is such
alreadie; as rather deserueth
commendation, than requireth
any mans words of incitement
or exhortation; neither will I at this time enter into
the large field of the praise of the Art of Warre; espe-
cially lest I should haply incurre the censure of the
old Prouerbe: Suum cuique pulchrum. But see-
ing you haue taken the laudable paines to attaine
to the knowledge of handling your Armes, and of the
seuerall motions of a battell requisite for the service
of the Field, wherein many of you may iustly chal-
lenge

The Epistle Dedicatorie.

*lunge the praise of equalling, if not exceeding the
 greatest number of Souldiers, that haue a long time
 followed the warres in forein parts, in which also it
 hath pleased you to vse my poore endenour; I haue
 thought good to adioine to your former Speculation (I
 hope I may vse that word, considering you haue not yet
 come to the sight of an Enemie, nor proceeded vsque
 ad sanguinem) and to present vnto you in your owne
 Language, a Precedent of Warre of another nature,
 than you haue hitherto beene exercised in, that is to
 say, the greatest March and Retreat, that euer was
 found in any Historie; wherein are notable Strata-
 gems set out of resisting a multitude of Enemies in an
 open Field, of passing Mountaines possessed by an E-
 nemie, of leading an Armie thorow Straights, thorow
 Forests, thorow Woods, thorow Riuers, ouer Bridges,
 of laying and auoiding Ambushes, of Marching by
 night, of resisting Horse, of stilling Souldiers muti-
 nies, of escaping Enemies machinations, of taking in
 Forts, of making prouision for an Armie; in a word,
 of all accidents, that may fall out in a long and dan-
 gerous March. In reading whereof, besides the va-
 rietie of discourse, you may obserue many documents
 fit for a worthy Souldiers consideration. For they are
 not to be heard that contemne the experience of for-
 mer Times, and thinke, that the policies vsed by an-
 cient Generals match or sute not with our moderne
 Warres. From whence, I pray, are deriued our Mo-
 tions, and whole manner of exercise now in vse, but
 from Antiquitie? Neither is there any other true
 difference*

The Epistle Dedicatorie.

*difference to be found betwixt vs and Antiquitie, in
 the vniuersall course Militarie, saue only in the vse
 of Gunnes: Of which the great Ordinance succeed in
 the place of ancient Engines of Battery; the smaller
 Peeeces in place of Arrowes, Slings, and Darts.
 Now as I must confesse, that the force and violence
 of Gunnes is farre greater, than of the weapons mis-
 sine vsed in time past; so me thinks I may truly
 maintaine, that their place in Battell, and elsewhere,
 is altogether the same: Shot must haue defence either
 from Pikes or from other aduantage of ground, or
 eise they are subiect to be scattered or ouer-runne by
 Horse, or the like, as well as the light-armed of old
 time. But hereof I shall haue other opportunitie to
 speake. My desire is at this instant that you will be
 pleased to accept this presentation, with the same
 minde it is offered vnto you by*

16 Maij 1623.

Your seruant to doe all seruice,

IOHN BINGHAM.



THE FIRST BOOKE OF THE HISTORIE OF

XENOPHON, TOVCHING THE
Ascent of CYRVS the younger, out
of *Asia* the Lesse, into the Higher
COUNTREYS.



DARIVS and PARISATIS had two Sonnes, of whom the eldest was named *Artaxerxes*, the younger *Cyrus*. And when *Darius* fell sick, and suspected he should not live long, he desired to haue a sight of both his Sonnes. The eldest happened then to be present; he sent for *Cyrus* from the Prouince whereof he had made him *Satrapa* or Ruler, and had declared him *Generall* of all the people, that vpon *Musters* resorted to the plaine of *Castolus*. *Cyrus* therefore iourneyed vppward to his Father, taking with him *Tissaphernes* as a friend, and hauing for his Guard 300 armed *Grecian* Foot, vnder the leading of *Xenias* the *Parrhasian*. After the death of *Darius*, and crowning of *Artaxerxes*, *Tissaphernes* accused *Cyrus* to his Brother, as though he intended treason against him: who being easily perswaded and induced to beleue, caused *Cyrus* to be apprehended, with intent to put him to death. But his Mother made intercession for him, set him at libertie, and remised him to his gouernment. He hauing been thus in perill, and dishonoured, deliberated after his departure, how to exempt himselfe from his Brothers subiection, and to make himselfe King in his Brothers stead. Their Mother *Parisatis* inclined more to *Cyrus*, louing him better than she did *Artaxerxes*, that reigned. And *Cyrus*, if any were sent to him from King *Artaxerxes*, won them so by his courtelies, that they departed better affected to him, than to the King. Besides, he had that regard of the *Barbarians*, which were about him, that he both made them good Souldiers, and purchased their loue. As for the *Grecians*, he waged them as secretly as he could, to the intent to take his Brother altogether vnprovidid.

B

A city of *Lydia*.

The occasion of the difference betwixt the Brethren for the treason, see *Plutarch* in vita *Artaxerxis*.

Peloponnesus was that part of Greece which is now called *Morcia*.

Ionis, a part of Asia the lesse. *Miletus*, a Citie of Caria.

Abydus, a Citie lying vpon *Hellepont*, right against *Sestos*.

A *Darick*, was a peece of gold of the value of thirteene shillings.

Cherronefus, an Island ioyned to the Continent of *Europe* *Thrace*, only by a Necke of Land.

A *Xeros*, a guest, amongst the *Grecians* was one of another Citie or Nation, that a man admitted into his house, and lodged.

Thessaly, a countrey of Greece. *Baotia*, that part of Greece where the citie *Thebes* stood.

Stymphalius, a citie of *Arcadia*.

Achaia, a countrey of *Peloponnesus*.

Pisidia, a Countrey of Asia.

vnprovidd. When therefore he made leuies of such, as should lye in Garrison in his Cities, he commanded the Captaines of the Garrisons, euerie man apart, to wage as many, and the best *Peloponnesians* they could, vnder pretence, that *Tissaphernes* sought to surpris the Cities: For the *Ionian* Cities were before deliuered to *Tissaphernes* by the King, but then they all reuolted to *Cyrus*, excepting only *Miletus*. And *Tissaphernes* being in *Miletus*, and perceiuing they also would turne, and take part with *Cyrus*, put some to death, some other he chased and banished out of the Citie. *Cyrus* receiuing these banished men, and gathering an Armie together, besieged *Miletus* both by Sea and Land, seeking to restore them to their Countrey. And this was also another pretence of raising an Armie. Besides, he sent to the King, and desired him, that being his Brother, the rule of those Cities might rather be committed to him, than to *Tissaphernes*; wherein he was seconded by his Mother, so that the King perceiued not, that treason was intended against him at any hand, but imagined, that *Cyrus* waged that Armie to warre against *Tissaphernes*; for which warre, he was not greatly sory, because *Cyrus* sent to the King the Tribute of those Cities, whereof *Tissaphernes* had the command. Another Armie was collected for *Cyrus*, right ouer against *Abydus*, in this manner. *Clearchus* was banished from *Lacedemon*, he came to *Cyrus*, and *Cyrus*, after conference and acquaintance with him, both admired the man, and besides, gaue him 10000 *Daricks*. *Clearchus* taking the gold, leuied an Armie therewith, and passing out of *Cherronefus*, warred vpon the *Thracians*, that inhabit about *Hellepont*, thereby aduantageing greatly the affaires of the *Grecians*; and so much in deed he did aduantage them, that the Cities of *Hellepont* willingly furnished him with money to maintaine his Armie. So that this Armie also was not descried to be held on foot for *Cyrus*. Further, there was one *Aristippus* a *Thessalian*, a guest to *Cyrus*, who being ouerpressed with his Countrey-men of the contrarie faction, came to *Cyrus*, & requested him to spare him 2000 Mercenaries, and three Moneths pay, alleaging, that thereby he should be able to overcome his aduersaries. *Cyrus* furnished him with 4000 men, and sixe Moneths pay, desiring him withall, not to agree with his aduersaries, till they two had had conference together. So againe this Armie in *Thessaly* was not perceiued to be kept on foot, and nourished for *Cyrus*. Further, he commanded *Proxenus* the *Baotian*, who was his friend, to bring vnto him as many men as he might, vnder pretence of warring against the *Pisidians*, that spoyled his Countrey; and *Sophanetus* the *Stymphalian*, and *Socrates* the *Achaean*, who likewise were both his guests, to come to him with as many men, as they could make, vnder colour, together with the banished *Mileians*, to make warre against *Tissaphernes*, which also they did. *Cyrus*, after he was resolu'd to ascend into the higher *Pronimes*, gaue out, that his purpose was to chace the *Pisidians* wholly out of the Countrey, and so assembled both his *Barbarian* and *Grecian* troopes, as if it had been against them. And he commanded *Clearchus*, with the Armie which he led, to come vnto him, and *Aristippus* to compound with his aduersaries,

aduersaries, and afterwards to send him that Armie of his likewise. And *Xenias* the * *Arcadian* (whom he had appointed *Generall* of the Mercenaries, which he laid in Garrison in the Cities) to bring vnto him those Troops, leauing behind so many only, as should be sufficient to guard the *Citadels*. Likewise he sent for those that were at the liege of *Miletus*, and inuited the banished men to his seruice, promising, if his affaires had good successe, not to giue ouer till he had restored them to their home. They with ioy accepted of his proffer, (for they trusted him) and thereupon came to *Sardes*. *Xenias* gathered together the Mercenaries in the Cities, and brought them to *Sardes*, being in number about 4000 armed foot. *Proxenus* came with 1500 armed, and 500 light armed foot. *Sophanetus* the *Stymphalian*, with 1000 armed. *Socrates* the *Achaean*, with about 500 armed. *Pasion* the *Megarean*, with 300 armed, and 300 Targetiers (or *Pelasts*.) This last, and *Socrates*, were of those that belied *Milet*. These Troops came to *Cyrus* to *Sardes*. *Tissaphernes* hauing intelligence hereof, and conceiuing that the preparation was greater than first the warre against the *Pisidians*, hastened with as much speed as he could, towards the King, hauing with him about 500 Horse-men. And the King, as soone as he heard by *Tissaphernes*, of the Armie that *Cyrus* had raised, made contrarie preparation. *Cyrus* with the Forces afore mentioned, marched from *Sardes*. He marched into *Lydia*, 22 ^a *Parasangs* in three encampings, and came as farre as the Riuer *Meander*, the bredth whereof is ^b 2 *Plethors*. A Bridge was layd ouer the Riuer vpon six Ships ioyned one to another. Passing ouer here, he made one encamping in *Lydia*, hauing marched eight *Parasangs*, and came to *Colosse*, a great, rich, and well inhabited Citie, where he remained seuen dayes. Hither *Menon* the *Thessalian* came to him with 1000 armed Foot, and 500 *Dolopian*, *Anian*, and *Olynthian* *Pelasts*, or Targetiers. From thence he marched in three encampings, 20 ^c *Parasangs*, as far as *Celene*, a great, rich, and well inhabited Citie of *Phrygia*. Here had *Cyrus* a Palace, and a great Parke, full of wilde Beasts, which he hunted on Horse-backe, whensoever he was disposed to exercise himselfe, and his Horses. *Meander* runneth thorow the middest of the Parke, the Fountaines whereof arise within the Palace. It runneth also thorow the Citie *Celene*. The great King hath also a strong Palace in *Celene*, vnder the Citadell, vpon the Spring of the Riuer *Marfyas*, which Riuer runneth thorow the Citie, and falleth into *Meander*. The bredth of *Marfyas*, is 25 foot. It is said, that *Apollo* pulled the Skin of *Marfyas* ouer his head (who contended with him about *Wisdome*) and hung it vp in the Denne, where the Spring of the Riuer *Marfyas* ariseth, and that thereupon, the Riuer is called *Marfyas*. The report is, that *Xerxes* flying out of Greece after his ouerthrow, builded the Palace, and the Citadell of *Celene*. In this place, *Cyrus* rested 30 dayes, and *Clearchus*, the exile of *Lacedemon*, came vnto him with 1000 armed Foot, and 800 *Thracian* Targetiers, and 200 *Cretan* Archers; and *Sofias* the *Syracusan*, with 1000 armed Foot; and *Sophanetus* the *Arcadian*, with 1000 armed Foot. *Cyrus* tooke muster,

B 2

and

* *Arcadia*, a Countrey of *Peloponnesus*.

Sardes, a Citie in *Lydia*.

Armed, 11300. Light armed, 2300.

Megara, a Citie in Greece.

The *Grecians* that serued *Cyrus*.

^a A *Parasang* containeth 30 *Stadia*, or Furlongs, 8 Furlongs goe to a Mile, so a *Parasang* is 3 Mile three quarters.

22 *Parasangs* amount to 82 Miles and a halfe, which being diuided by 3, the quotient will be 27 and a halfe, so he marched euerie day 27 miles & a halfe.

^b *Plethrum*, is 100 foot.

^c 67 Miles & a halfe. 22 Miles and a halfe euerie encamping.

megastocor.

13000 Armed,
and light ar-
med.

37 Miles and a
halfe. The day,
18 miles and
more.

These Games
were first insti-
tuted in the
honour of Pan,
god of Arcadia.

Young men
ran naked in
them. *Liquis*, 11.

They were cal-
led *Luperalia* a-
mongst the Ro-
mans, and *Para-*

gones, in Arcadia. 15,
for 1456. *nume*, 10
20, 117. *num*, 40.

245 Miles. Eu-
ery day 12 miles
and a halfe.

A great
March if it be
not mistaken.

It amounteth
to 112 miles
in all. And to
more than 37
mile a day.

Epiaxa, the
Queene of Ci-
licia.

* 37 Miles and
a halfe. 18
miles euerie
day and aboue.

† 37 Miles and
a halfe. 18
miles euerie
day and aboue.

‡ 37 Miles and
a halfe. 18
miles euerie
day and aboue.

§ 37 Miles and
a halfe. 18
miles euerie
day and aboue.

¶ 37 Miles and
a halfe. 18
miles euerie
day and aboue.

‡ 37 Miles and
a halfe. 18
miles euerie
day and aboue.

§ 37 Miles and
a halfe. 18
miles euerie
day and aboue.

¶ 37 Miles and
a halfe. 18
miles euerie
day and aboue.

‡ 37 Miles and
a halfe. 18
miles euerie
day and aboue.

§ 37 Miles and
a halfe. 18
miles euerie
day and aboue.

and numbred the *Grecians* in this Parke, and found them to be 11000 armed, and about 2000 *Targetiers*, or *Peltasts*. From thence, he marched in two encampings, 10 *Parasangs*, and came to *Pelta*, a Citie well peopled, there he remained three dayes, during which time, *Xenias* the *Arcadian* solemnized the Playes, called *Lycea*, and proposed games. The games were *Golden rubbers*. *Cyrus* was present and beheld that exercise. From thence, in two encampings, he marched * 12 *Parasangs*, and came as farre as the Market of the *Ceramians*, a Citie full of people, the last of the Countrey of *Mysia*. From thence, in three encampings, he marched † 30 *Parasangs*, as farre as the Citie called the *Plaine of Cayser* (a Citie well peopled) where he stayed five dayes. By this time, there was due to the Souldiers more than three Moneths pay, which they often demanded, gathering themselues together before *Cyrus* his doore. But he put them off with hopes, not without manifest signes of discontentment in his countenance. For it was not *Cyrus* his manner to hold vp payment, when he was furnished with money. Here *Epiaxa*, the Queene of *Syennefis* the King of *Cilicia*, came to *Cyrus*, and was laid to bring vnto him great summes of money, wherewith he paid the Souldiers their entertainment for foure Moneths. This *Cilician* Queene, had a Guard of *Cilicians*, and *Apendians*, about her. The report went, that *Cyrus* was verie familiar with her. From hence, in two encampings he proceeded * 10 *Parasangs*, euen as far as *Thymurium*, a well inhabited Citie. Neere the way leading to this Citie, there is a Fountaine, called the Fountaine of *Mydas* King of *Phrygia*, where the fame is, that *Mydas* hunted the *Satyr*, mingling the water of the Fountaine with wine. From thence, in two encampings, he marched † 10 *Parasangs*, and came to *Tyriaum*, a Citie full of people; He remained there five dayes. Whilst he was there, the report goes, the *Cilician* Queene requested him to shew her his Armie, whole request, he being desirous to satisfie, tooke a muster of the *Grecians*, and *Barbarians*, in the Plaine neere adioyning. He commanded the *Grecians* to order, and range themselues according to their wonted manner of embattailing, euerie *Leader* directing his owne Souldiers. They were therefore ordered † foure in depth. *Menon*, & those with him, had the right Wing; *Clearchus*, and his Souldiers, the left; The other *Commanders*, the middest. *Cyrus*, and the Queene, he in his Chariot, she in her Coach, rid vp and downe, and first viewed the *Barbarians* (who passed by, and aduanced in Troops, and Companies) and then afterward the *Grecians*. They had euerie man a Brazen Head-peece, a Scarlet Coat, Greues, and a polished and bright *Target*. When he had passed by all, staying his Chariot before the middest of the *Phalange*, he sent *Pigres* his Interpreter, to the *Grecian Coronels*, willing them to command a Charge (as if they were to giue vpon the Enemy) and to moue forward with the whole *Phalange*, who gaue warning hereof to their Souldiers. No sooner therefore had the Trumpet sounded, but they straightwayes aduanced, † holding out their weapons as in a Charge, and then mending their pace, and giuing a shout, they fell of themselues into a Plaine, running

running toward their *Tents*. Both the other *Barbarians* were taken with sodaine feare, and also the *Cilician Queene* forooke her Coach, and the Market-folke, leauing their wares behind, shifted away euerie one to saue himselfe. The *Grecians* not without laughter, held on forward to their *Tents*. The *Cilician Queene* wondred not a little at the beautie and order of the Armie, and *Cyrus* tooke as much pleasure to behold the *Barbarians* put into such a feare by the *Grecians*. From hence, in three encampings, he marched 20 *Parasangs*, and came to *Iconium*, the last Citie of *Phrygia*. He stayed there three dayes, and from hence, he marched in five encampings thorow *Lycaonia*, 30 *Parasangs*. He suffered the *Grecians* to spoile this Countrey, as Enemy. From hence *Cyrus* sent away the *Cilician Queene* by the neere way to *Cilicia*, and with her he sent *Menons* Regiment, and *Menon* the *Thessalian* himselfe. *Cyrus*, with the rest, marched thorow *Cappadocia*, 25 *Parasangs* in foure encampings, as farre as *Dana*, a great, wealthy, and well peopled Citie. Here he remained three dayes, within which time, he put to death *Megaphernes*, a *Persian*, the Kings Purple Dyer, and another Ruler of great authority, charging them with Treason against himselfe. From hence they attempted to breake into *Cilicia*, but the entrance was so narrow, that more than one Chariot could not passe at once, and withall, exceeding steepe, and vnpassable for an Armie, in case resistance were made. The same was, that *Syennefis* had planted himselfe in the highest of the Straights, to defend the passage, which was the cause, that the Armie staid in the Plaine one day. The next day, there came a Messenger bringing tydings, that *Syennefis* had left the Straights, after he perceiued that *Menons* Troopes were already beyond the Mountaines in *Cilicia*, and heard that a Fleet of *Lacedemonian* Gallies, and another of *Cyrus*, were vnder saile, to passe from *Ionia* to *Cilicia*, vnder the leading of *Tamon*. *Cyrus* ascended the Mountaines without resistance of any Man, and found the *Tents* yet standing, of those that were in guard of the Mountaines. From thence, he descended into a great, beautifull, and well watered Plaine, and replenished with all manner of Trees, and with Vines. It beareth abundance of *Sesamum*, and *Panick*, and *Millet*, and Wheat, and Barley. It is inuironed on euerie side from Sea to Sea, with abrupt, and high Mountaines. Descending from this Mountaine, in foure encampings, he marched 25 *Parasangs*, thorow *Cilicia* as farre as *Tarsus*, a great, and rich Citie of *Cilicia*. In that Citie was the Palace of *Syennefis*, King of *Cilicia*. Thorow the middest of this Citie, runneth the Riuer named *Cydnus*, being 200 foot in breadth. The Inhabitants thereof, excepting such as bought and sold, left the Citie, and fled to the Mountaines with *Syennefis*. But the Inhabitants of *Solos*, and *Iffos*, which stand neere the Sea, held themselues to their homes. *Epiaxa*, the Wife of *Syennefis*, arrived at *Tarsus*, five dayes before *Cyrus*. But in the tops of the Mountaines, that stretch towards the Plain, two Companies of *Menons* Regiment were lost. Some say, that being busie in pillage, they were cut off by the *Cilicians*; Other some, that they were left behind not able to find the rest of

The *Grecians*
put the *Barba-*
rians in feare.

22 Miles and a-
boue, a day.

20 Miles and a-
boue, a day.

23 Miles and a
halfe, and vp-
ward.

The entrance
into *Cilicia*.

Syennefis, King
of *Cilicia*.

Cilicia.

A kind of Indi-
an Corne.

23 Miles and
vpward, a day.

Cydnus.

Ἰσὸς ὁ ποταμός.

Lochos, signifi-
eth here a
Company: in
Ælian, it is vsed
for a File.

of the Troops, nor the waies which they were to passe, and were lost in wandering vp and downe. Their number was about 100 armed Foot. The rest comming to *Tarsus*, sacked the Citie, and the *Palace* in it, in a rage for the losse of their Companions. *Cyrus* entring the Citie, sent for *Syennesis*, who returned answer, that as he neuer yet had committed himselfe to the hands of a Man better than himselfe, so he would not now begin. In which minde he continued, till his Wife perswaded him to the contrarie, and till he had taken assurance from *Cyrus*. After that they met, *Syennesis* gaue *Cyrus* great summes to vphold his Armie. *Cyrus* againe gaue him gifts, such as he thought honourable, and much esteemed amongst Kings; As namely, a Horse with a golden bitt, a Chaine of gold, Bracelets, a Sword decked with gold, a *Persian* garment, and freedome of his Land from spoile; As also, restitution of the *Slaves*, which were taken in spoile by the Souldiers, wheresoeuer he could find them. *Cyrus*, and the Armie, remained here 20 dayes, for the Souldiers plainly denied to goe any further, imagining now they were led against the King, which they said, was no part of their agreement. *Clearchus* was the first that went about to force his Souldiers to proceed, but they, as soone as he offered to goe forward, cast Stones at him, and at his carriage Beasts. And surely he hardly escaped stoning. But afterward perceiuing it was in vaine to vse force, he called his Souldiers to an assembly; and first he stood weeping a good time, which they seeing, wondred at, and kept silence. Afterwards he spake thus: My fellow Souldiers, wonder not that the present state of this businesse toucheth me to the quicke, for *Cyrus* hath made himselfe mine *Hof*, being banished out of my Countrey, and not only done me other honours, but also giuen me 10000 *Daricks*: which I taking, hoorded not vp for mine owne priuate vse, and pleasure, but disbursed them vpon you. And first I made warre vpon the *Thracians*, and with your helpes reuenged the wrongs they did vnto *Greece*, chasing them out of *Cheronefus*, whilst they endeauoured to take that Land from the *Grecians*. But when *Cyrus* called for me, I tooke you with me, and went to *Cyrus*, to the end in his need to shew my selfe thankful for his former kindnesse and fauours towards me. But since you please to goe no further, I must of necessitie either forsake you and apply my selfe to his friendship, or deceiue his hopes, and remaine still with you. For my part (I know not whether I am in the right or not) I will rather chuse you, and with you partake such fortune as God shall send. Neither shal any man euer say, that I led the *Grecians* against the *Barbarians*, & embracing the friendship of the *Barbarians* betrayed the *Grecians*. And because it pleaseth you neither to be perswaded by, nor yet to follow me, I will follow you, and with you willingly vndergoe whatsoeuer shall happen. For my resolution is, that you are my countrey, my friends, and my fellowes in Armes, and that with your presence, I shall be honorable, wheresoeuer I become: Being deprived of you, I shall neither be able to pleasure a friend, nor to be reuenged vpon an enemy. Wherefore I would haue you thinke assuredly, that whithersoever you goe, thither will

The *Grecians* refuse to goe any further.

Clearchus art in drawing them further.

will I goe with you. Thus he spake. His owne Souldiers, and others hearing these words, and that he purposed not to goe against the King, commended him much, and about 2000 of *Xenias*, and *Pasions* Souldiers taking with them their Armes and Carriages, came and encamped with *Clearchus*. *Cyrus* doubting the sequell of these things, and somewhat aggriued in his minde, sent for *Clearchus*, who refused to goe vnto him, but secretly without the Souldiers knowledge willed him to be of good courage, for he doubted not, but all should be well. Onely he desired him to send for him once more, albeit he signified before hand, that he would denie to come. Afterward, gathering together his owne Souldiers, and the other that quartered with him, and as many besides as list to heare, he said thus: My fellow Souldiers, the affaires of *Cyrus* with vs, and ours with him, stand almost vpon one foot, and carrie no great difference: For neither are we his Souldiers any more, because we follow him not, nor yet is he to giue vs any more entertainment. I know well he thinketh himselfe much wronged by vs, which is the cause I refused to goe vnto him, when I was sent for, especially being ashamed, & touched in conscience, that I had deceiued his hopes. Further I feared lest laying hands vpon me, he might perhaps inflict some seuerer punishment for the wrong I haue done him. I am therefore of opinion, that it is high time for vs not to sleepe, nor be carelesse of our selues, but to take counsell what is to be done: for if we be forced to stay here, it is to be considered, after what sort we may stay with most safetie: If to depart, how we may most securely depart, and how recouer things necessarie for our iourney. For without these, neither *Generall*, nor common Souldier is able to atchieue any thing. As for *Cyrus*, where he is a friend, he is a sure friend, and highly to be prized; where an enemy, no man more sowre, nor more enemy-like. Besides, he hath Forces of Foot, of Horse, and Shipping, which we all see, and verie well vnderstand, as being quartered not farre from his Campe. So that it is high time for any man to vtter what he thinketh. Hauing spoken thus, he held his peace. Then arose some of their owne accord, who deliuered their opinions. Other some by his subornation, shewed the impossibilitie of going or staying, without the good will of *Cyrus*. One making semblance of hastening into *Greece* with all speed, aduised to chuse other *Generalls* quickly, in case *Clearchus* refused to leade away, and to buy things requisite for the iourney (for there was a Market, said he, in the quarter of the *Barbarians*) and immediatly to trusse vp their baggage, and goe to *Cyrus*, and require Shipping, to depart in: And in case he refuse to giue them, to desire a guide to leade vs thorow the Countrey as friends. If he refuse that also, then presently to put the Armie in Battell array, and to dispatch away some, to seise vpon the height of the Straights, that neither *Cyrus* preuent vs, nor yet the *Cilicians*, abundance of whose persons and goods, we haue preid and carrie with vs. Thus much spake he. Then answered *Clearchus* in this manner: Let no man once imagine, that I will take vpon me the place of *Generall* ouer this Armie (for there are many things that

diffwade

disswade me from it) But if you shall thinke good to chuse any other man, I will not faile to obey him to my vtermost; that you may see, I know as well to be commanded, as any man else whosoever. After *Clearchus*, another arose, shewing the simplicitie of him, that aduised to require Shipping of *Cyrus*, as though he had no further vse for it, and what a shallownesse it would be, to require that of a *Generall*, which if he granted, his enterprife should be quite ouerthrowne. And if we were in any thing to trust the guide, that *Cyrus* should giue vs, why commanded we not *Cyrus* to take the top of the Hills for vs? For my part, I would be thorowly aduised, ere I went into Ships of his prouiding, lest he sinke both vs and them; and would feare his guide, lest he leade vs to a place, from whence there were no comming off. I had rather goe hence without *Cyrus* his knowledge, if there were any meanes to hide my departure from him: but that is a thing impossible, as also I say, these are all idle conceits: for my aduice, I would thinke it expedient, to send fit men with *Clearchus* vnto *Cyrus*, to enquire, wherein he will be pleased to vse our seruice, and if the action be like vnto those, wherein he hath heretofore employed Strangers, to follow him, and to shew our selues no worfe, then they were, that heretofore ascended to his father with him. But if the enterprife seeme greater, and of more labour, and more perill, than other former enterprises haue been, to desire him either to perswade vs, and so to leade vs with him, or else to yeeld to our perswasions, and friendly to dismisse vs. For so both in following him, we shall follow as friends, readie to doe him seruice, and in returning, returne with safetie. What answer he maketh, I thinke necessarie to be reported to the Armie, that we may consult vpon it accordingly. This was decreed by the whole assembly, and chosen men sent with *Clearchus* to make demands to *Cyrus*, according to the resolution of the Assembly. *Cyrus* answered, that he had newes, that *Abrocomas* an enemy of his, was at the Riuer *Euphrates*, which was about 12 encampings from thence: That he went against him, and if he found him there, he would be reuenged vpon him; if he fled away, we will deliberate then, said he, what is to be done. The chosen men made report hereof to the Souldiers, who albeith they had a suspition, they were led against the King, yet decreed to hold on. When they demanded of *Cyrus* an augmentation of pay, hee promised them halfe as much more as they had before, namely, in stead of one *Darick* the month, a *Darick* and an halfe to euery souldier. But all this while no man heard in publike, that they were led against the King. From thence he marched ten *Parasangs* in two encampings, as farre as the Riuer *Pharos*, whose bredth was 300 foot. From thence in one encamping a furlong *Parasangs*, and came to the Riuer *Pyramus*, whose bredth is a furlong. From thence in two encampings, ^b 15 *Parasangs*, and came to *Issos*, the last Citie of *Cilicia*, a Citie situated vpon the Sea, being well peopled, large and rich. There he remained three daies. Here out of *Peloponnesus* came to *Cyrus* 35 Ships vnder the command of *Pythagoras* the *Lacedemonian*. The Admirall of the whole Fleet was *Tamos* the *Egyptian*,

20 s. and 6 d.

37 miles, and a half. 18 miles & vpwards a day. Three Fleethers. a 18 Mile and vpwards.

600 Foot. b 28 Miles and more a day.

Egyptian, who brought with him 25 other of *Cyrus* his Ships from *Ephesus*, with which hee had before besieged *Miletus*, because that Citie tooke part with *Tissaphernes*: and this *Tamos* followed *Cyrus* against him. *Cherisophus* the *Lacedemonian* came with these Ships, whom *Cyrus* had sent for by name, and brought with him 700 armed foot, with which he serued *Cyrus*. The Ships anchored hard by *Cyrus* his Tent. Whilest the Army rested here, the *Grecian* Mercenaries, which were vnder the pay of *Abrocomas*, being in number 400 armed foot, reuolted from him, and came to *Cyrus*, and serued against the King. From hence in one encamping hee marched fise *Parasangs*, euen to the streights of *Cilicia*, and *Syria*. These were two walles, of which *Syennefis*, and a guard of the *Cilicians* had the defence of the inmost next to *Cilicia*: The other next *Syria* was defended by a guard of the Kings souldiers. Thorow the middest of these two runneth the riuer called *Kersos*, being of the bredth of a hundred foot. The whole distance betweene the two walls is three furlongs, and it admitteth no passage by force, the neather way toward the Sea being narrow and fenced with strong walles, and the vpper nothing but inaccessible rockes. In either wall there is a gate set. This passage was the cause that *Cyrus* sent for his ships, that in them he might transport armed foot both without and within the gates to force a way, if it were so that the enemy sought to make good that place, which he thought *Abrocomas* with his souldiers, that he had in great number, went about to doe. But *Abrocomas* did it not: For as soone as he heard, that *Cyrus* was aduanced into *Cilicia*, he returned with all speed out of *Phaenicia* to the King, hauing with him, as it is reported, an army of thirtie *Myriads* of men. From hence he marched in one encamping thorow *Syria* fise *Parasangs*, euen as farre as *Myriandrum* a Citie inhabited by the *Phaenicians*, and situated vpon the Sea. This towne is a place of trafficke, and many ships of burthen rode in the Hauen. There he remained seuen daies, and *Xenias* the *Arcadian* Coronell, and *Pasion* of *Megara* shipping themselves, and their goods of most esteeme, sayled homeward discontented (as it was thought by most) because *Cyrus* suffered *Clearchus* to keepe their souldiers, which refusing to goe any further against the King, remoued into his campe, with intent to returne into *Greece*. As soone as they were out of sight, the rumour went that *Cyrus* pursued them with gallies, and some wished they might be taken, as men that had vsed trechery: Other some pittied them, and feared their danger in case they were taken. *Cyrus* calling the Coronells together, said, *Xenias* and *Pasion* haue forsaken vs. But let them know for certaintie, that neither they are so secretly fled, but that I am informed whither they are gone, nor yet that they are out of my reach, for I haue gallies enow that will easily (if I list) fetch vp their ship. But indeed it is not my purpose to pursue them: neither shall it be said, that I vse the seruice of any man so long, as he is willing to follow me, and when he is desirous to be gone, arrest him, and intreat him ill, and spoile him of that, he hath. But, as I said, let them goe, and vnderstand, that they deale worfe with vs, than wee with them: And albeith

Cherisophus, who after wards was one of the Coronells.

18 Mile and more. The streights of *Syria*. The Riuer *Cheris*.

Abrocomas his armie 300000. men.

18 Mile and vpward.

Xenias & *Pasion*, two Coronells, forsake *Cyrus* without leaue.

The lenitie of *Cyrus*.

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beit I haue their wiues and children at *Tralles* in custodie, yet shall they not be defrauded, but haue them safely deliuered into their hands, in respect of their former seruice to mee. So much *Cyrus*. The *Grecians* hearing the worthy disposition of *Cyrus*, euen those that before were slacke and backward in the iourney, followed him now more willingly and cheerefully. From thence in foure encampings he marched twentie *Parasangs* to the riuer *Chalos*, a riuer ^a 100 foot broad, which was full of great tame fish, which the *Syrians* thinke to be gods, and therefore suffer them not to be harmed no more than they doe *Pigeons*. The villages wherein they encamped pertained to *Parisatis*, being giuen to her for her maintenance. From thence in 5 encampings, he marched 30 *Parasangs*, as farre as the head of the riuer *Daradaces*, which was 100 foot in bredth: there was the Palace of *Belesis*, who sometimes gouerned *Syria*, & a very large and beautifull Parke stored with all kinde of fruit, and wanting nothing that growes at any time of the yere. *Cyrus* cut downe the trees thereof and burned the Palace. From thence in three encampings he marched fiftene *Parasangs*, euen as farre as the Riuer *Euphrates*, whose bredth is three furlongs. A great and rich Citie is built vpon *Euphrates*, which is called *Thapsacus*, where the army remained fise daies. *Cyrus* sending here for the Commanders of the *Grecians* told them, that his purpose was to lead against the great King, willing them to signifie so much to the souldiers, and to perswade them to follow. They calling an assembly, declared all that was deliuered vnto them. The Souldiers were offended with the Commanders, alleaging they knew as much before and concealed it, and refused absolutely to stirre a foot forward, vnlesse they had such rewards assured them, as the other *Grecians* had that before ascended vp with *Cyrus* to his father: who notwithstanding went not to fight, but onely waited vpon *Cyrus* when his father sent for him. The Commanders reported those things to *Cyrus*, who promised to giue euery man fise pounds of siluer as soone as they came to *Babylon*, and to continue their whole pay vntill they were sent backe and came into *Ionia*. Most part of the *Grecians* yeelded to these conditions. But *Menon*, before it was knowne what the other souldiers purposed to do, & whether they would follow *Cyrus* or no, called his owne Regiment apart, and spake vnto them in this sort. My Companions (quoth he) if you will be ruled by mee, you shall without danger or labour be more esteemed of *Cyrus* than all the rest. What then would I haue you doe? *Cyrus* at this instant is intreating the *Grecians* to follow him against the King. This is therefore my counsell, that wee passe ouer *Euphrates* before it appeare what answer the other *Grecians* will deliuer vnto *Cyrus*. For if they resolve to follow him, it will seeme that you that first began to passe, are the cause thereof, and *Cyrus* will both thanke and reward you, as the most forward of all the rest (for he knowes how to doe it as well as any man) but if they resolve the contrarie, we will all returne ouer the riuer backe againe. So shall it come to passe that *Cyrus* will vse vs both for Garrisons, and for Commanders, as the most obedient and most faithfull

75 Miles, 18 miles and more the day.

^a A Plether. The gods of the *Syrians*.

22 Miles and upwards a day. A Plether.

56 Miles. 18 And more the day. *Thapsacus*.

Vnder the leading of *Menon*.

μνα amongst the *Grecians* was of the value of 58 s—4 d. the whole summe is—14 li, 11 s—8 d.

*Menon*s subtilty.

cc

cc

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full souldiers of his Armie, and if there bee any thing else you shall request of him, I assure my selfe you shall finde him your especiall friend. The souldiers hearing this, yeelded to his perswasion, and passed the riuer before the other could resolve vpon an answer. *Cyrus* perceiuing they were passed ouer, was glad at heart, and sent *Gloss* vnto them, willing him to say in his name; *Cyrus* at this present praiseth and commendeth you, but he will in deuour to giue you cause hereafter to praise him, else would he not haue you thinke him to be *Cyrus*. The souldiers filled with great hopes, wished him good successe in all his delignes. It is said, he sent rich presents vnto *Menon*. This done, he passed the riuer, and the whole Armie after him, and not a man was wet about his breasts in wading ouer. The *Thapsacens* report that the riuer was neuer passed ouer on foot before, but with shipping alone, which *Abrocomus* had burnt, to the intent to hinder *Cyrus* in his passage. This seemed to be a miracle, and that the riuer gaue way to *Cyrus*, portending hee should be King. From thence in nine encampings hee marched fiftie *Parasangs* thorow *Syria*, and they came to the riuer *Araxes*, where were many villages replenished with Corne and Wine. There remained they three dayes, and made prouision of victualls. From thence in fise encampings in the wilderness he marched thorow *Arabia* 35 *Parasangs*, hauing *Euphrates* on the right hand. The territorie of this Countrey was a Plaine all ouer, euen like vnto the Sea, but full of wormewood, and if any thrubs or reeds grew there, they yeelded a sweet sauour like vnto spices, but there was not a tree to be seene. Of vntamed beasts, the most were wilde Asses, and not a few *Ostriches*. There were also *Bustards* and wilde Goats. These asses being chased first fled on afore, and afterward turned and stood at a gaze (for they were much swifter than a horse) & again did the like when a horse came neere them. So that it was a matter impossible to take them, vnlesse the horsemen hunted with their horses placed in distance, and taking the chace one from another. The flesh of them being caught is in taste like a red Deere, sauing that it is a little more tender. No man could lay hand vpon an *Ostrich*, and the horsemen that gaue her chace soone quitted it. For she runs away flying vsing her feet for course, & lifting vp her selfe with her wings, as it were with the sailes of a ship. As for the *Bustards*, they are easily caught if a man sodainly spring them: for they both make a short flight as *Partridges* doe, and are soone weary. The flesh of them is very delicate & pleasant. Proceeding on thorow this countrey the Armie came to the Riuer *Masca*, which carrieth 100 foot in bredth. Here was a great Citie, but dispeopled, named *Corsote*, which hath the Riuer *Masca* running round about it, where they staid three daies making prouision for the Armie. From hence in thirteene encampings in the wilderness *Cyrus* marched 90 *Parasangs*, hauing *Euphrates* on his right hand, & came to the streights. In these encampings many carriage-beasts were lost for want of food. The inhabitants digging out and fashioning millstones about the riuer, carried them to *Babylon* and sold them, buying with the price victualls to maintaine their liues. The Army

cc
cc

Euphrates a deepe riuer.

187 Mile and upwards; about 20 mile a day.

Arabia.

Wilde Asses. *Ostriches*. *Bustards*.

A Plether.

337 Miles and a halfe, which amounteth to 25 Miles and upward the day

* A *Capitha* containeth halfe a pecke of our measure.
A *Chenix* a quarter of a pecke.
b *Obolus Atticus* is taken for penny farthing of our money.

The cause of long marches.

Carmandia.

Boats for a shift.

Seditious Souldiers put all in danger.

was now destitute of victuall, neither was there any to be bought elsewhere than only in the *Lydian* market amongst the *Barbarians* that followed *Cyrus*, where a * *Capitha* of meale was sold for foure *Sicles*: a *Sicle* is valued at 7 *Attick* *Oboli*, & a half, and a *Capitha* contains 2 *Atticke* *Chenices*. The Souldiers therefore fed vpon flesh. These encampings were a great distance one from another, & they fell out to be the longer because *Cyrus* was forced to march on till he came either to water or fodder. And if it chanced that the way leading thorow streights or mire were hardly passable for the Chariots, *Cyrus* would stay with the best and gallantest of his traine, & command *Glous* or *Pigres* to take some of the *Barbarian* army, & draw the Chariots out of the mire. And in case they seemed too slow, he would, as it were in anger, command the strongest of the *Persians* that followed him, to put to their hands and free the chariots. There might a man haue beheld no smal peece of obedience. For casting off their skarlet cloaks (called *Candyes*) in the place where euery one stood, they hasted, as if a man should runne for a wager, euen against the steepnesse of hills, being clad with rich coats, and embrodered breeches, & some of them with chaines of gold about their neckes, and bracelets about their wrists; and yet with these leaping quickly into the mire, they hoysed, and brought out the wagons sooner than a man would haue imagined. In a word, *Cyrus* spared no manner of diligence all the way to haste the iourney forward, staying in no place vnlesse there, where he must needs furnish himselfe with prouision, or else set downe for some other necessary cause; conceiuing the more speed he made, the rather he should surpise the King, and fall vpon him at vnawares; and the more he loitered, the greater Armie the King should be able to raise. For it was easie for any man that would marke, to perceiue, that the Kings dominion was strong in largenesse of Territories, and multitudes of men, but weake in length of waies, and separation of his forces, in case warre were roundly moued against him. Beyond *Euphrates*, and the encampings in the wilderness, there was a great and rich Citie, the name whereof was *Carmandia*, out of which the Armie made their prouision passing ouer in boats, which boats were contriued vpon the sudden in this sort: The skins which they vsed for coverings, they filled with light hay and chaffe, binding and sowing them so close that the water could not come into the chaffe, and vpon those, they went ouer and got prouision, which was wine pressed out of *Palme* nuts, & corne called *Millet*, whereof there was great plentie in this country. Here a controuersie falling out betwixt a Souldier of *Clearchus* and another of *Menons* Regiment, *Clearchus* commanded *Menons* Souldier to be beaten, iudging him to be in the wrong. This Souldier went to his owne quarter, and complained hereof to his companions, and they hearing what had passed, grew discontent and angry with *Clearchus*. The same day *Clearchus* going to the passage of the riuer, and there viewing the Market, rid backe to his owne Tent with small attendance thorow *Menons* quarter. *Cyrus* was not yet arriued, but was vpon the way comming forward. It fortun'd at the same time that one of *Menons* Souldiers

Souldiers was hewing Wood, who seeing *Clearchus* passing by, threw his Harchet at, but missed him, then threw one Stones, and so another, and then many more, raising a great cry. *Clearchus* fled to his owne quarter, and forthwith commanded his Souldiers to take Armes. The armed Souldiers he commanded to stay there, resting their Targets against their knees; the *Thracians*, and the Horse-men, of which he had about 40 in his quarter (the most part *Thracians*) he tooke with him, and galloped against *Menons* Souldiers; so that both they, and *Menon* himselfe, were put in a feare, and some ran to their Armes, others stood still, doubting what the sequell would be. *Proxenus* his turne was to come in the reare that day, with his whole Regiment of Armed, who presently thrust his Troopes in betwixt them both, and laid downe his Armes, entreating *Clearchus* to forbear. *Clearchus* contrariwise was angry because being so neere stoning, *Proxenus* vsed so calme words in his extremie of danger, and willed him to depart from betweene them. Whilest they stood vpon these termes, *Cyrus* came vp, and was certified how things went, and presently arming himselfe, and attended with most of them that were about him, he galloped in betweene, and spake thus: *Clearchus*, and *Proxenus*, and you the rest of the *Grecians* that are present, you know not what you doe; For if you fall to fight among your selues, you may well thinke, that this day you shall cut me a peeces, and your selues not long after me. For if our affaires goe ill, all these *Barbarians* that you see, will be greater enemies to you, than they, who are with the King. *Clearchus* hearing these things, came againe to himselfe, and both of them moderating their choller, laid their Armes downe in the place. Proceeding in their iourney from hence, they discovered the footing, and dung of Horses. It seemed the number of the Horse, was about 2000, which going before our *Campe*, burnt the Fodder, and all other things profitable for vse. *Orontes* a *Persian*, neere a kin to the King, and deemed one of the best Souldiers of *Persia*, did seeke in former times to betray *Cyrus*, making warre against him; but being after reconciled to *Cyrus*, he iourned with him now, and profered, that if *Cyrus* would let him haue 1000 Horse, he would either by ambush cut off the Scouts of the Enemy, that burnt the Countrey, or would take many of them aliue, and so inhibit their burnings, or at least disable them to report to the King any thing touching the Armie of *Cyrus*. *Cyrus* hearing this, held it a matter of importance, and therefore he willed him to take a parcell of Horse out of euerie Troope. *Orontes* thinking these Horse were readie at his call, writ a Letter to the King, that he would come vnto him with as many Horse, as he could get; Onely he desired, it would please the King, to giue charge to his Horse-men to receiue him as a friend. Besides, he added in his Letters many remembrances, & tokens of his old friendship & faith to the King, and deliuered the letter to a trustie Messenger, as he imagined; who as soone as he receiued it, shewed it to *Cyrus*. When *Cyrus* had read the contents, he caused *Orontes* to be apprehended, & called into the same tent wherein himselfe was, seuen of the most honorable

Persians

τὸς ἀπιδέε
τοῖς τὰ πόλιν
δύναται.

The Coronels
marched by
turnes.
ἐδὲτο τὰ ὄπλα.

Cyrus stilleth
the contenti-
on.
εἰ

εἰ

εἰ

εἰ

εἰ

ἐδὲτο τὰ ὄπλα.

A faire pre-
sence of a trai-
tor.

Σιδης τῆ δαμ.

The manner of
proceeding in
iudgement a-
gainst *Oromtes*.

Persians he had about him, & commanded the *Grecian* Leaders, to bring vnto him some number of their armed Foot, whom he appointed to lay downe their Armes at his Tent. They as they were commanded, brought with them about 3000 armed Foot: *Cyrus* then called *Clearchus* also into Councell, who seemed to him, and to the rest, to be of farre greater reputation, than any other of the *Grecians*; And he, after he came forth, told the Historie of *Oromtes* Iudgement, to his friends, and how it was carried: for secretnesse in this businesse was not enioyned. *Clearchus* reported then, that *Cyrus* began after this manner: My friends, I haue called you together, that consulting with you about this *Oromtes*, I might doe that, which is most iust, both before God, and Men. My Father at the first gaue him to be vnder my command; afterward by commandement of my Brother, as he professeth, hauing in possession the Citadell of *Sardes*, he made warre vpon me; but I pursued him with armes so neere, that he thought it best to forbear bearing armes against me, and afterward receiued his, and gaue him my right hand in token of reconciliation. He added, Was there any thing, *Oromtes*, I wronged you in after this? *Oromtes* answered, Nothing. Then *Cyrus* asked him againe, Did not you afterward, being not wronged by me, as your selfe confesse, reuolt to the *Myrians*, and spoile my Countrey to your vitermost power? I did, said *Oromtes*. And when you found your selfe too weake, did you not fly to the Altar of *Diana*, saying, you repented of that you had done, and desired pardon, and gaue and tooke of me assurance of no further enmitie betwixt vs? *Oromtes* acknowledged this also. Wherein then (quoth *Cyrus*) haue I wronged you, that you fought to betray me the third time? When *Oromtes* confessed, he was not wronged; *Cyrus* asked him, Doe you confesse then, you haue done me wrong? I must needs, quoth *Oromtes*. Then *Cyrus* asked him againe, will you henceforward then beemie to my Brother, and friend, and trustie to me? Although I should, answered he, I shall not seeme so to you. After this, *Cyrus* said to those that were present: You haue heard, what this man hath done, and said; Begin *Clearchus*, and giue first your iudgement vpon him. Then said *Clearchus*: Mine aduice and counsell is, that he be forthwith dispatched out of the way, that we be not troubled with keeping him, and that he hinder vs not to doe good to those, that willingly would become our friends. To this aduice the rest assented. Afterward by commandement of *Cyrus*, all they that were present, and his kinsmen also, rising vp, tooke hold of *Oromtes* girdle, as of one condemned to die, and men appointed for the purpose led him forth: When he came out, those that were wont to bow to him with reuerence, made then also obeisance, albeit they knew, he was led to die. But being conueighed to the Tent of *Artapata*, one of the most trustie Mase-bearers of *Cyrus*, from that time forward, no man saw *Oromtes* aliue, or dead, nor could report the manner of his death (some being of one imagination, some of another) nor yet was there made any Graue or Monument for him. From thence in three encampings, he marched 12 *Parasangs*, thorow the Countrey of *Babylon*.

His condem-
nation.

His execution.

45 Mile, 15 a
day.

Babylon. In the third encamping, *Cyrus* about midnight tooke musters of the *Grecians*, and *Barbarians*, in the Plaine where they then were (for he thought, that the next morning, the King would come with his Armie, and bid him battell) and gaue to *Clearchus* the command of the right Wing of the *Grecians*; and to *Menon* the *Theffalian*, the left; himselfe ordered his owne people. After musters ended, as soone as it was day, there came Fugitiues from the great Kings Campe, and brought newes to *Cyrus* touching the Armie of the King. *Cyrus* calling together the chiefe Commanders, and the Captaines of the *Grecians*, consulted with them, how he might best order his Armie for fight, and admonished, and encouraged them in these words: I made choice of you (*ô Grecians*) to be my Companions in Armes, not because I wanted, or might not haue had plentie of *Barbarians*, but I chose you for that I esteemed you better, and more to be valued than many multitudes of *Barbarians*. Shew your selues therefore men worthy of the libertie you enioy, in respect whereof, I hold you also happie. For I would haue you know, that I prize libertie aboue all things I possesse, and aboue many more of greater worth, than those, I possesse. But to the end you may vnderstand what fight you are at this present to vndergoe, I will in few words declare it vnto you. The number of the enemie is great, and they charge with a great cry. Endure the first, and I am ashamed of the rest: and, am likewise ashamed, what manner of men you shall finde the Inhabitants of these Countreys to be. And in case you shew your selues men, and be couragious, and valiant, whosoever desireth to returne to his home, I will so send him away, that at his returne, his fellow Citizens shall haue cause to enuie his good hap. But I thinke so to vse the matter, that many shall rather chuse to remaine, and take such part as I shall haue, than to returne home to their Countreys. Hereupon *Gaulites* a Fugitiue of *Samos*, but faithfull to *Cyrus*, replied; There are (*ô Cyrus*) that say, you make large promises by reason of the perill at hand; but in case the successe be good, you will forget all. Other some, that although you remember, and would, you cannot performe what you promise. *Cyrus* hearing these things, answered, My Fathers Kingdome stretcheth toward the South so farre, that for heat, no man is able to inhabit; toward the North, that no man can inhabit for cold; the middlemost parts, are vnder the gouernment of my Brothers friends. If we get the victorie, I can doe no lesse, than establish you my friends in the possession of them. So that I feare not (if my journey prosper), not to haue enough, wherewith to pleasure euerie one of my friends, but I feare rather, I shall not haue friends enow to pleasure. But to you, *ô Grecians*, to euerie one of you, I will giue ouer and aboue my promise, a Crowne of Gold. They that heard these things, were much more forward than before, and related them to the rest. Many both of the chiefe Commanders, and also some other of the *Grecians*, went in to *Cyrus*, demanding what should be their reward, in case they won the day; whom *Cyrus* sent away full of good hopes. About that time, *Clearchus* asked *Cyrus*, Doe you thinke (*Cyrus*)

Ordering of
the battell.The largenesse
of the *Persian*
Kingdome.

Cyrus foot were
112800.

^a *daric*; *mueta*
^b *tergastria*.
^c Every Myri-
ade is 10000.

The kings foot
900000.

A Fathome
containeth two
yards.

(Cyrus) your Brother will hazard a battell? If (quoth Cyrus) he be the Sonne of *Darius* and *Parisatis*, and my Brother, I shall neuer obtaine the things, I seeke for, without fight. Here the *Grecians* being in Armes, were numbred to be ^a 10400 Armed, and 2400 *Targetiers*, the *Barbarians* with Cyrus ^b 10 *Myriades*, *Sythed Chariots* about 20. The enimie was said to be 120 *Myriades*, and about 200 *Sythed Chariots*. Besides, there were 6000 Horse vnder the leading of *Artageres*; they were ranged before the King. There were foure Rulers, or *Generals*, or *Leaders*, of the Kings Armie; of whom, euerie one had 30 *Myriades* vnder his charge; to wit, *Abrocomas*, *Tissaphernes*, *Gobryas*, and *Arbaces*. But of this number, there were no more, then 90 *Myriades* present in the battell, and 150 *Sythed Chariots*. For *Abrocomas*, although he posted with all speed out of *Phenicia*, came fife daies after the battell. The Fugitiues from the Kings Armie, brought this information to Cyrus before the battell; and those of the enimie, that were intercepted after the battell, confirmed the same. From hence Cyrus in one encamping, marched 3 *Parasangs*; his whole Armie, both *Grecians* & *Barbarians*, being in battell array: for he thought the king would haue fought that day, because at the end of this halfe daies journey, he found a deepe Trench cast, the bredth whereof was fife Fathomes, the depth three Fathomes. The trench ran vp into the Countrie 12 *Parasangs*, thorow the Plain euen as far as the wall of *Media*, where the Channels begin, that are deriued out of the Riuer *Tygris*, being in number foure, each of them 100 Foot in bredth, and verie deepe, so that Ships of burthen doe saile in them. They fall into *Euphrates*, euerie one distant a *Parasang* from other, and euerie one hauing a Bridge laid ouer it of the bredth of 20 Foot. A narrow way was betwixt the Riuer *Euphrates*, and this Trench. The great King caused this Trench to be cast for a Fortification, as soone as he heard that Cyrus was on foot. Cyrus and his Armie passed ouer this narrow way, and were come within the Trench. The great King ioined nor battell this day, but many *Tracts* of men and beasts, that retired, might hereabouts be euidently perceiued. Vpon the same day, Cyrus calling to him *Silanus* the Diuiner of *Ambracia*, gaue him 3000 *Daricks*, because 11 daies before offering Sacrifice he told him, that the King would not fight within ten daies. If he fight not within ten daies, quoth Cyrus, he will neuer fight; but if thy saying proue true, I promise to giue thee 10 *Talents*, and he gaue him that gold then, because the ten daies were past. Now seeing the King did not hinder the passage of Cyrus his Armie ouer that Trench, Cyrus, and the rest, were strongly perswaded, that he determined not to fight, which was the cause, that Cyrus had not so great care of his march the next day; and he aduanced the third day after sitting in his *Chariot*, and the most of his Armie marched confusedly, and many of the Souldiers Armes were put vpon the Waines, & vpon the cariage beasts. Now it was the time, the Market was full, and the place of encamping, where they should quarter, was at hand, when *Patagyas* a *Persian*, one of the faithfulest of Cyrus his Traine, was seene to come vpon the spur, his Horse dropping with sweat, crying out in

in the *Persian* and *Greeke* Language, that the King was hard by with an huge Armie readie, and prepared for fight. This newes made a great confusion, and as well the *Grecians*, as all the rest, imagined they should be charged in this disorder. Cyrus leaping from his *Chariot*, put on his *Curace*, and getting on Horse-back, tooke his Darts in his hand, and commanded the rest to Arme, and euerie man to take his place. Then with great diligence they ordered themselues, *Clearchus* in the point of the right Wing, by the Riuer *Euphrates*, *Proxenus* next vnto him, and the other after *Proxenus*. *Menon*, and his Regiment, had the point of the left Wing of the *Grecian* battell. Of the *Barbarians*, about 1000 *Paphlagonian* Horse-men stood by *Clearchus* on the right hand, and all the *Targetiers* of the *Grecians*. On the left hand of the whole *Phalange*, *Ariens*, Cyrus his Lieutenant *Generall*, and the remnant of the *Barbarians*. Cyrus himselfe held the middest with 600 Horse-men, which were armed with great *Curaces* and tases, and all of them with Caskes, except Cyrus alone. Cyrus stood waiting the fight with his head vnarmed: It is said, that other *Persians* also, when they hazard battell, fight with their heads vnarmed. All the Horse that serued vnder Cyrus, had both Frontlets and Brest-plates; the Horse-men had *Grecian* Swords also. It was now mid-day, and the enimie was not yet come in fight; but when mid-day was past, first a dust appeared like vnto a Cloud, and a little while after, a kinde of blacknesse spread ouer the whole Plaine. When they came somewhat neerer, a man might discerne the shining of Brasse, and their Speares, and array were easily discovered. And on the left Wing of the enimie, were placed Horse-men armed with white *Curaces*, who were reported to be vnder the command of *Tissaphernes*, next to whom were placed the *Wickar Targetiers*, and hard by them armed Foot, that caried long Wooden *Targets*, reaching downe to their feet. They were said to be *Egyptians*; then other Horse-men, and other Archers, all according to their *Nations*; and euerie *Nation* was cast into a *Plesum* (or square battell) full of men, and before them, the *Sythed Chariots*, distant a good space one from another. These *Chariots* had on the sides Sythes prominent, and bearing straight forth from the *Axeltrees*, and some from the former Seat of the *Chariot*, with their points turned toward the ground, to the end to cut a peeces whatsoeuer they met, and strooke vpon. The Kings purpose was to send them with high speed against the ranks of the *Grecians*, to breake and rent them in peeces. Cyrus in a speech (heretofore deliuered) exhorting, and encouraging the *Grecians*, gaue them to vnderstand, it should be enough only to endure the cry and shout of the *Barbarians*. But he was therein greatly deceiued; for they aduanced not with a cry, but with as great silence, and quietnesse, as was possible, continuing still in an equall and slow pace. Cyrus at this time galloping vp to the right Wing with *Pigres* his Interpreter, and with three or foure more, cried out to *Clearchus*, to lead the *Grecians* against the middest of the enemies battell, because the King was there; for if it be overcome, quoth he, there is no more for vs to doe. *Clearchus* seeing the middest of the battell, and

D

hearing

The order of
Cyrus his battell.
The place of
the Command-
ers. Of the
battell of Gre-
cians.
Light armed of
the Grecians.
Ariens is alter-
ward called
General of the
Horse.
*οὐρανὸν ἑ-
ξαρτάσας*
εὐκαταδύας.

The order of
the *Persians*.
The arming of
the *Egyptians*.

A *Plesum*.
Battalions.
The place of
the *Chariots*.
See my Notes
vpon the 11 ch.
of *Aelian*.

Plutarch ac-
counteth this
a fault in *Clearchus*, in vita *Artaxerxis*.

Remedy a-
gainst over-
winging.

The Word.

A Militarie
Song.

Alexander gaue
direction to
his souldiers to
doe the like.
The victorie of
the Grecians.

Cyrus warinesse
in his good
successe.

The place of
the K. of Persia
in a battell.

hearing from *Cyrus*, that the King was farre without the point of the left wing of the *Grecian Phalange* (for the king so abounded in multitude, that all the middest of his battell stretched, and was extended without the left Wing of *Cyrus* his Troopes) would not for all that draw away the right Wing from the Riuer, fearing to be ouerfronted, and incompassed on both sides: but answered *Cyrus*, He would haue a care, that all things should goe well. In the meane time, the *Barbarians* Army aduanced equally, but the *Grecians* remaining in the same place, increased still, and ordered their Troops, as they came on. And *Cyrus* putting forth a little before the rest, viewed both Armies at a good distance, casting his eyes sometimes vpon the enemy, sometimes vpon his friends, whom when *Xenophon* the *Athenian*, being amongst the *Grecians*, perceiued, he spurred his Horse to meet him, and when he was come vp, asked, if he would command anything; *Cyrus* pausing a little, said, Tell all your people, that the best sacrificed, and the inwards, promise vs good lucke. In speaking this, he heard a murmuring, that ran along cleane thorow the *Grecian* Troopes, and asked, what noise it might be, and what it meant; *Xenophon* told him, the Word was now giuen the second time. He murmured who had betrayed the Word, and asked, what the new Word was; *Xenophon* answered, *Iupiter the Saviour*, and *Victorie*: which *Cyrus* hearing, I accept it, said he, and let it be so. After he had thus spoken, he returned to his owne place. And now the two *Phalanges* were not about three or foure Furlongs one from another, when the *Grecians* sang the *Paeon*, and set forward against the enemy. The part of the *Phalange* which aduanced, swelled toward the Front, as it had been a waue of the *Sea*, and the hinder part began to follow apace, and all shouted (as they are wont in a *Furie Martialis*) and all ran on at once. Some also report, that they beat their Pikes vpon their *Targets*, to the end to scare the Horses. Before they came within an Arrowes shot, the *Barbarians* turned their Horses, and fled. The *Grecians* followed the chase with all speed, and cryed one to another, not to run and haste too much, but to follow in good order. The *Chariots*, void of guides, were caried, some vpon the enemies themselves, some vpon the *Grecians*, who vpon a forecast opened, and let them passe thorow; yet were there some that were ouerthrowne for feare, as it is wont to happen in a Horse race, who notwithstanding were reported to haue had no harme, nor yet any other *Grecian* in this whole fight, one only excepted, who was stricken with an Arrow in the left side. *Cyrus* seeing the *Grecians* haue the victorie against their aduersaries, and hotly pursuing them, reioiced much, and was now worshipped of those, that were about him, as King. Notwithstanding, he brake not out to follow the chase, but keeping by him his Troope of 600 Horse close serred, he obserued what the King had in intention to doe. For he knew well, that his place was in the middest of the *Persian Phalange*, as it is the manner of all the *Persian* Commanders, to leade in the middest of their Troopes, conceiuing that they are there in greatest safetie, both because their strength is equally diuided on both sides

sides of them, and in case of Commands, the Armie may receiue directions in halfe the time it should; if they were else-where placed. So the King being then in his Station in the middest of his *Phalange*, and yet without the point of *Cyrus* his left Wing, and seeing no man to fight against him on the contrarie part, nor yet against the Troopes, that were ranged before him, he wound and turned his battell to the left hand, to the intent to ouerwing and encompasse in his aduersaries; which *Cyrus* perceiuing, and fearing lest coming on the backes of the *Grecians*, he should cut them in peeces, he galloped forth, and met him in Front, and charging with his 600 ouercame, and put to flight the 6000 that were ordered before the King; and with his owne hands (as the report goeth) slew *Artageses*, one of the *Generals* of the King. They were no sooner put to flight, but *Cyrus* his 600 pursuing hotly, were dispersed here and there, except a few, that were left with him, who were for the most part such, as vsually sat at his Table: being accompanied with these, he espied the King, and the Troope, that was about him, and by and by, after he had said, I see the Man, he flew out directly against him, and strooke him on the Breast, and wounded him thorow the *Curace*, as *Ctesias* the *Physician* reporteth, who reporteth also, that he cured the wound. Whilest *Cyrus* was thus in fight, one with a Dart hit him a fore blow vnder the eye. The King, and *Cyrus*, and their Followers in defence of either of them thus coping together, *Ctesias* (for he was present) telleth the number of those, that died about the King; and *Cyrus* himselfe was also slaine, and eight of his best Followers lay dead vpon him. *Artapata*, one of the faithfullest of *Cyrus* Mase-bearers, was said, after he saw *Cyrus* fallen, to haue alighted from his Horse, and cast himselfe vpon him. And some affirme, that the King commanded him to be killed vpon *Cyrus*; others report, that he killed himselfe, drawing out his owne Sword. For he had a gilt Sword, and wore a Chaine, and Bracelets, and such other Ornaments, as the best of the *Persians* wore, being of great esteeme with *Cyrus* for his loue and faithfulness towards him. Thus died *Cyrus*, a man by the opinion of those that had acquaintance with him, of the most Kingly disposition, and most worthy to beare rule, of all the *Persians*, that succeeded the Elder *Cyrus*. For first, being but a Child, and brought vp with his Brother, and other Children, he was thought to surmount them all in all things. For all the Children of the best sort of *Persians*, haue their education at the Kings Gate, where a man may learne much temperance, and where no kind of filthinesse is to be heard or seene; and the Children haue daily conuersant before their eyes, those that are honoured, or disesteemed of the Kings. So that being yet but Children, they learne to rule, and to obey. There *Cyrus* seemed to be the aptest to learne of all, that were of his age, and to be more obedient to the Elder sort, than those that were farre his inferiours. Besides, to be a great louer of Horses, and to vse them with great skill, and to delight, and be studious of warlike exercise, and of shooting, and darting. When he was in the flower of his age, he greatly

Horse in front.

An error in
too earnest
pursuit.

Cyrus his valor.

The death of
Cyrus.

The praise of
Cyrus.

His childhood.

The K. of *Persia*
at Gate.

greatly loued hunting, and shunned not danger, when he came to encounter with wilde beasts. And when on a time a Beare set vpon him, he feared her not, but buckling with her, was pulled from his horse and receiued those wounds, the skarres whereof he after carried about him, and yet slew her at last. The man, that first came in to his rescue, he rewarded with royall gifts, and made him more happy, than many others of his time. Afterward when he was sent by his father, and made *Satrapa* (or Gouvernour) of *Lydia*, and of the greater *Phrygia*, and of *Capadocia*, and was declared Generall of the people, that were to assemble and be mustred in the Plaine of *Cafalus*, he gaue all men to vnderstand; that he esteemed nothing more, than to keepe faith with whomsoever he made league, agreement, or promise. Wherefore the Cities vnder his command beleueed him in all he spake, and particular men euery where beleueed him. And if an Enemie were to come in at any time vpon *Cyrus* his word, he was easily perswaded of his assurance and safetie; which was the cause, when he moued warre against *Tissaphernes*, that euery Citie willingly chose to take part with *Cyrus*, rather than with *Tissaphernes*, *Miles* onely excepted: which feared him, for that he would not forsake, but gaue encouragement to the fugitiues of their Citie. For he declared both in deed and word, that after he had once receiued them into his friendship, howsoever their number, or fortune afterward fell out to be, he would not cast them off. Besides he made it euident, that in case any man shewed him kindnesse, or were malicious against him, he would doe all he could, to goe beyond him in either of both. And there were, that reported this with of his, namely, to liue so long, as to be able to ouercome his friends in kindnesse, his Enemies in reuenge. Therefore many men were content to giue vp their riches, Cities, and bodies into his hands, rather than into any mans, that liued in our age. Neither could it be truly said, that he suffered wicked and loose persons to scorne him. For that kinde of people he punished seuerely, and in the common waies were often to be seene men without feet, and hands, and eyes; so that in *Cyrus* his gouernement both *Grecians* and *Barbarians* behauing themselves orderly, might walke, where they list without feare, and carry such things with them, as they thought fitting for their iourney. By all mens confession he extraordinarily honoured men skilfull in the Art Military. The first warre he had, was against the *Pisidians* and *Mysians*: Himselfe therefore leading an Army against those countries, if he saw men willingly offer themselves to danger, he made them gouernours of the Country, which he conquered, and honoured them besides with other gifts. Whereby it appeared, that valiant men were happiest, and cowards accounted, as it were, their slaues. And for this cause many willingly put themselves into, and prouoked danger, especially if they imagined, that *Cyrus* should haue notice thereof. Whosoever it was that shewed to the world any notable example of Iustice, he much rather enriched him, than those, that fished for gaine out of vniust dealing. Therefore both many other things were rightly administred by him, and also

he

His keeping of
his word.His thankful-
nesse.Strictnesse in
punishment.His esteeme of
Souldiers.

he had an army, that might truly be called an Army. For the chiefe Commanders and Captaines resorted vnto him not for monies sake, but because they knew, that the seruice of *Cyrus* was much more to be prized, than their monthly pay. Now his seruants that executed his commands with dexteritie and diligence, he suffered not to goe vnrwarded. Wherefore the same went, that there was no kinde of worke to be thought vpon, wherein the seruants and workmen of *Cyrus* did not excell. If he found a man to be a good husband in augmenting his owne wealth without oppression, or in garnishing the Prouince, which he gouerned, with new reuenues, he was so farre from taking from him, that he gaue him more to that, he had. So that men gladly tooke paines, and boldly held, what they had gotten, and none concealed from *Cyrus*, the things he possessed. For he seemed not to enuy them, which in open shew were rich, but would often vse the goods of such, as concealed and kept them close. What friends soeuer he chose, and found well affected to him, and iudged able to effect that, which he desired, by the confession of all men he vsed most obsequiously. For as he needed friends to be fellow-workers of his designes, as he conceiued: so himselfe endeauoured to be to his friends, the best fellow-worker of that, which he thought, euery one of them desired. I haue many causes to thinke, he had more presents made vnto him, than any one man of that age whatsoeuer. All these he distributed especially amongst his friends, hauing consideration of euery mans manner of life, and of their need. The things that were sent him for ornament of his bodie, or else for warre, or for other trimmings and beautifyings; of these he is reported to haue said, that his owne body could not vse them all; and that his opinion was, that friends well adorned were a mans greatest ornament. But it is no maruell, that being of greater ability he ouercame his friends in kindnesse. This rather seemeth a maruell, that he went beyond them in care, to gratifie and doe them good. For *Cyrus* oftentimes, when he happened vpon extraordinary pleasant wine, would send them flaggons, with this message: *Cyrus* hath not tasted more pleasant wine a long time; he hath therefore sent this to you, and desireth you to day to drinke it out with those, that you loue best. Oftentimes also he sent halfe geese, and halfe loaves, and such like, willing the messenger to say, the taste of these pleased *Cyrus*, and therefore he would haue you also to taste them. If at any time there were small store of fodder, it was easie to him to furnish himselfe, by reason of the multitude and diligence of his seruants. Being then so furnished, he vsed to send part vnto his friends, and willed them to giue that fodder to the beasts, vpon which they rid, lest they might suffer hunger, after they had trauelled in carrying his friends. If he iourned any whither in the sight of many, he would call his friends to him, and finde talke with them of purpose, that it might appeare, who they were, that he honoured. Out of which I may truly coniecture, that no man was beloued of more either *Grecians*, or *Barbarians*, than hee. Let this also be a testimony hereof, that no man sought to flye from *Cyrus* (who

Loue & kind-
nesse to his
seruants.

To his friends.

The loue that
all men bore to
Cyrus.

15 Miles.
The Grecian
Campe taken
by the King.

Three Mile &
three quarters.

οὐστὰς τῆς.

Tissaphernes
chargeth the
Grecians.

(who was but a seruant) vnto the King (that was Master of all) except only *Orontes*. (who also found the man, whom he thought his sure friend, more friend to *Cyrus* than to himselfe) but many after the enmitie brake out betwixt the two Brothers, yea, some whom the King loued best, left him, and came to *Cyrus*, beleeuing the reward of *Virtue* was greater with *Cyrus*, than with the King. That he was both good himselfe, and could giue true iudgement, who were faithfull, louing, and constant; it is a great argument, that chanced at the end of his life; For when he died, all his friends, and such as were partakers of his Table, died fighting ouer his body; sauing onely *Arius*, he was Commander of the Horse on the left Wing, and, when he perceiued, that *Cyrus* was fallen, fled with the whole Troopes vnder his command. There the head and right hand of *Cyrus* were cut off. But the King and his folke following the chace chanced vpon the Campe of *Cyrus*. The Troopes of *Arius* made stand no where, but fled out of the Campe to the place, where they last before quartered. The way thither was accounted foure *Parasangs* in distance: But the King and his Armie spoiled both other things, and tooke *Cyrus* his *Phocian* Concubine, called the *Wise*, and *Beautifull*. For the *Milesian*, younger in yeeres than the other, being in hand to the Kings people, escaped away naked to the *Grecians*, that stood armed by the Baggage; who hauing put themselves in order for fight, slew many of the Spoilers, though some of them also were slaine. Notwithstanding they fled not, but saued hir, and saued all whatsoeuer both goods & men, that were within their custodie. Here the King and the *Grecians* were 30 Furlongs asunder; those last, giuing chace to those enemies that stood against them, as if they had been Conquerors of the whole Armie enemy; the other, rising the Campe of the *Grecians*, as if their whole Armie had gained the victorie. But when the *Grecians* vnderstood, that the King and his Armie were amongst their Baggage, and the King heard by *Tissaphernes*, that the *Grecians* had overcome those, that were opposite against them, and that they proceeded forward giuing chace, he gathered together his dispersed Troopes, and put them in order of battell. And *Clearchus* calling to him *Proxenus* (for he was the next vnto him) consulted, whether it were better to send away some few, or whether with their whole Forces they should go to succor the Campe. In the meane time, the King appeared againe, aduancing forward (as it seemed) vpon the reare of the *Grecians*: the *Grecians* wheeling about their battell, prepared themselves to march on, and to receiue the Kings charge that way. But the King aduanced not, but as before he passed by without the left Wing, so he returned backe againe the same way, taking with him those, that fled to the *Grecians* during the time of fight, as also, *Tissaphernes*, and his Troopes: for *Tissaphernes* fled not in the first encounter, but gaue vpon the *Grecian Targetiers* by the Riuer side, yet killed he no man in giuing on, for the *Grecians* opening their battell speedily, left a passage for *Tissaphernes*, striking and darting at him, and his, as they passed thorow. *Episthenes* the *Amphipolitan*, was Captaine of the

Targetiers,

Targetiers, esteemed a man of good direction; therefore *Tissaphernes* departed, as hauing the worst; and making toward the *Grecian* Campe, met the King there, and both ioining againe their Forces, aduanced forward. After they were now come as far as the left Wing of the *Grecians*, the *Grecians* feared the enemy would charge their Wing, and so wrapping in their battell on both sides, cut it in peeces. They therefore thought fit to draw out that Wing in length, and to apply and set their backs against the Riuer. Whilest they were in this consultation, the King changing the forme he was in, ordered his *Phalange* against them as at first, aduancing as though he meant to charge. And the *Grecians* seeing the enemy at hand, and ordered for fight, began the *Paeon* againe, and moued forward with much more alacritie, than in the first fight. The *Barbarians* receiued them not, but fled with greater speed than before. They followed the chace vnto a certaine Village, where they made Alt. For about the Village, was a hill, vpon the which the Kings Forces were rallied, and stood with their faces toward vs, being no Foot, but Horse alone, and so many as couered the hill. A man could not see what was to be done; some said, they discerned the Kings Standard, a golden eagle with her wings displayed as on a little *Target* fixed to the end of a long wooden staffe. When the *Grecians* aduanced thither also, the Horse forsooke the Hill, not in Troopes, but dispersedly, some scattering here, some there, in the end, all vanished away. *Clearchus* therefore ascended not the hill himselfe, but making Alt with the Armie at the foot of the hill, sent *Lucius* the *Syracusan* and another, willing them to get vp the hill, and to discouer, and make report to him of that they saw. *Lucius* galloped vp the hill, and after he had taken view, returned and told him, that the enemy fled vpon the Spur. Whilest these things were in doing, the *Sunne* was almost set. Here the *Grecians* made a stand, and rested themselves, laying downe their Armes; and withall, they wondred they saw not *Cyrus*, nor any man that came from him; for they knew not, that he was dead, but imagined, that either he followed the chace, or else halted forward to take in some place of importance, & they consulted, whether it were better to remaine still in the place where they were, & to cause their baggage to be brought to them, or to returne vnto the Campe. At last, they resolved to depart, and about supper time they came to the campe, and so the day ended. When they came there, they found the most of their other goods rifled, and especially the meat and drinke, and the waines laden with flower & wine, which *Cyrus* had prepared to releue the *Grecians*, in case the Armie should at any time be driuen to penurie, and need. They were, as was said, 400 waines, which the Kings Armie spoiled, so that the most part of the *Grecians* were supperlesse, as also they wanted their dinner that day: for the King came in sight before the Army could rest themselves, and take their dinner. Thus therefore they passed that night.

Finis Libri Primi.

Remedy a.
gainst encom-
passing.

ἡμεῖς καὶ
ἡμεῖς.

The *Grecians*
return to their
Campe.

Cyrus his pro-
uision for the
Grecians.



THE SECOND BOOKE OF THE HISTORIE OF

XENOPHON, TOVCHING THE
Ascent of CYRVS the younger, out
of *Asia* the Lesse, into the Higher
COUNTREYS.



IN the booke next before-going, is declared how *Cyrus* at such time, as he warred against his brother *Artaxerxes*, leuied his forces out of *Greece*, and what happened in the iourney, and how the battell was fought, and after what manner *Cyrus* ended his life, and how the *Greekes* thinking themselves masters of the field, and *Cyrus* to be aliue, returned to their campe; and tooke themselves to rest.

As soone as it was day, the chiefe Commanders gathering together, maruelled that *Cyrus* neither sent vnto them, nor came himselfe to giue direction, what was to be done. Therefore they thought good to trusse vp their baggage, that was left, and to put themselves in armes, and march forward, and ioyned their forces with *Cyrus*. Whilest they were busie herein, by sun-rising came *Procles*, sometimes gouernour of *Tenuthrania*, a man of the posteritie of *Demaratus* the *Lacedemonian*, and *Glus* the sonne of *Tamon*. They brought word of the death of *Cyrus*, and that *Arius*, with the other *Barbarians*, being put to flight in the battell, were retired to the campe, from whence they dislodged the day before: and said further, that *Arius* would stay for them that whole day, if they thought good to come vnto him, and the next day set forward toward *Ionis*, from whence they first began their iourney. The chiefe Commanders, and the rest of the *Greekes* hearing this newes, were much perplexed. *Clearchus* hereupon said: Would God *Cyrus* had liued. But seeing he is dead, carry word to *Arius*, that we haue vanquished the King, and that no man, as your selues are eye-witnesses, fighteth or listeth vp his hand against vs; and had you not come, we were euen at this instant marching against the King. But say to *Arius*, if hee please to come & ioyned with vs, we will install him in the Kings throne.

E

For

For *Demaratus*
see *Herodot. lib.*
6.175. & *Pau-*
sanias in Laconi-
cis. l.3.171.30.
Arius his mes-
sage to the
Grecians.

A countrey of
Asia the lesse.

cc
cc
cc
cc
cc

Clearchus his
answer.

returned from *Arius*, but *Menon* remained still with him. They brought answer from him, whereby he signified, that there were many *Persians* in all respects better, than he, who would neuer endure, that he should be King. But if you resolute, said they, to depart with him, he willett you to come this night; if not, he meaneth to march away early in the morning. *Clearchus* said; we must doe as you advise, if we goe vnto him. If not, we are to resolute vpon that, which shall be thought most conuenient for vs. But neither signified he to these men, what he purposed to doe. After this, about sunne set, he called the Coronels and Capitaines together, and spake to them to this effect: Euen now when I asked counsell of the gods by sacrifice, whether we should goe against the King or no, the intrayles assented not; and not without cause: For, as I now vnderstand, the Riuer *Tigris*, a Riuer nauigable, lieth in the mid-way betwixt vs and the King; which Riuer we cannot passe without shipping. Shipping we haue none, and being destitute of victuall we may not remaine here. But the sacrifice was faire, and allowed of our going to the friends of *Cyrus*. This therefore must be our order. We must for the present away euery man to his lodging, and there sup with such as he hath. When the horne giueth signe to rest, let euery man make ready to depart. At the second signe lay your baggage vpon the carriage-beasts; at the third follow your leaders; and in our march the carriage-beasts are to be placed next the riuer, the armed without them. The Coronels and Capitaines hearing this, departed, and did so. And thenceforward *Clearchus* commanded, and they obeyed him, not because he was chiefe by election, but because they saw, he onely was able to command, the rest without experience. The length of the iourney fro *Ephesus* in *Ionia* to the place of the battell were 93 encampings, 535 *Parasangs*, 16030 furlongs. From the place, where the battell was fought, to *Babylon*, were by estimation 3060 furlongs. Here *Metacystes* the *Thracian*, when it was darke, fled to the King with 40 Horsemen, which were vnder his command, and with 300 *Thracian* foot. The rest *Clearchus* led according to the appointment made betweene them, and the whole army at the first encamping came vnto *Arius* and to his army about midnight, and laying downe their armes in order, the Coronels and Capitaines of the *Grecians* resorted to *Arius*; and both the *Grecians* and *Arius* and the chiefe men about him tooke an oath to be friends, and confederates, & not to betray one another. The *Barbarians* swore also to be faithfull Guides to the *Grecians* in their returne homeward. This oath was taken killing a Boare, a Bull, a Wolfe, and a Ram; and the *Grecians* dipped the point of a sword, the *Barbarians* of a speare in the bloud of these beasts, being powred out into the hollownesse of a Target. After they had taken mutuall assurance, *Clearchus* said to *Arius*; *Arius*, seeing it so falleth out, that your iourney, and ours is all one, tell me, I pray, your opinion, whether we are to returne the same way we came, or else can you direct vs any better way. He answered: If we returne the same way we came, we shall for want of prouision all perish with hunger. For in 7 encampings,

2000. Miles
and about.

382 Miles and
a quarter.

to the Sea
and the Sea.

Arius his
counsell for
the way of
their returne.

encampings, aduancing hither, we found nothing in the country to relieue vs, and that little that was left, was consumed in our passage. We are therefore resolute to returne by a way of more circuit, but able enough to furnish out all manner of prouision for vs. And for our first encampings we had need to gaine in them as much ground, as we can, that the Kings army may be cast a great distance behinde vs. For if we get before him but two or three dayes iourney, he can by no possibilitie be able to ouertake vs: with a small army he will not dare to follow vs; with a great he can make no speed, besides that it is like to be destitute of Victuall. This is mine opinion, quoth he. Which suggestion of his serued for no other purpose but for a speedy shifting and running away. But fortune afterward was a better guide for vs. As soone as it was day, all set forward, hauing the sunne on the right hand, imagining that by sun-set they should reach to Villages of the *Babylonian* Territorie. Neither were they deceiued in their imagination. About cuening they thought they saw the enemies Horse; and both the *Grecians*, which were out of order, ranne to their places, and *Arius* (for he rode on a Waggon, because of his wound receiued in the battell) alighted and put on his curace, as did the rest likewise, that were in his Company. But while they were arming, the scouts brought tydings, that they were no Horse, but onely carriage-beasts at pasture, and streightwaies euery man easily coniectured, that the Kings Campe was some where not farre off. Howbeit *Clearchus* led not against the enemy, both because our Souldiers courages began to fall, and also because they had bene fasting that whole day, and now it grew something late. Yet turned not out of the way, lest hee might seeme to flie, but holding on right forth, by sunne-set he reached to the villages with the Vant-guard, and there quartered. The tymber of the houses of some of the villages was broken downe, and carried away by the Souldiers of the Kings armie. Therefore they, that came first, lodged themselves reasonably well; the last being benighted, euery one tooke vp his lodging, as fell out; and calling one vpon another made a great noise; so that the Kings army heard it. Whereby came to passe, that the enemy next at hand fled out of their tents. This appeared the next day. For neither was there carriage-beast, nor campe, nor smoake at hand to be scene. The King also (as it should seeme) was terrified with the accesse of our armie, which he declared by the next dayes worke. Yet in the proceffe of the night a feare seised vpon the *Grecians* themselves; and the tumult and hurliburley was such, as is wont, when men are possessed with feare. *Clearchus* in this distresse called *Telmides* the *Elean* (whom hee had with him, the best Cryer of those times) and after silence enioyned willed him to make proclamation, that the Coronels signified, whosoever in generall could bring forth the author of this tumult, should haue a talent of silver for his reward. By the proclamation the Souldiers perceiued, that their feare was vaine, and their commanders in safetie. As soone as it was day, *Clearchus* commanded the *Grecians* to fall

A Panickall feare
amongst the
Grecians.

The King maketh an overture of Truce.

fall into the same order, they held, when the battell was fought. And where I before wrote, that the King was put into a feare by our access, it hereby appeared to be so, because the day before he sent an Impenious commandement to deliuer vp our armes, and now this day he imploied messengers about a truce. They after they came to our out-guards asked for the Coronels. The out-guards aduertised *Clearchus* hereof, who was then viewing the order of our embattelling, and he willed them to say to the messengers, that they should stay, where they were, till his farther leasure. After he had so ordered the Armie, that the whole *Phalange* appeared in a faire thicknesse, well compacted together, and no vnarmed man in fight, he called for the messengers; and both himselfe taking with him some of the best armed and gallantest Souldiers of the Troopes, and willing the other Coronels to do the like, he aduanced to meet them. Meeting together, he demanded the cause of their comming. They said, they came about a Truce, and had full power to deliuer the Kings pleasure vnto them, and to returne their answer to the King. *Clearchus* answered: Tell the King now from me, that there is no other way, but first to fight. For we haue no dinner, neither dares any man speake a word to the *Grecians* about Truce without offering them meat to eat. The messengers hearing this, posted away, and returned presently. Whereby also appeared that the king was at hand, or at least some other man, that had authoritie about this negotiation. They said, the King allowed the motion, and, if the Truce were concluded, would send guides to conduct them to sufficient prouision. *Clearchus* asked whether the Truce should stretch to all in generall, or to those only, which were to goe betweene. They answered, to all, till your propositions be related to the king. After these things spoken, *Clearchus* fell to counsell with the Coronels. It seemed good to all to embrace a Truce forthwith, and quietly to goe to the place, where the prouision was, and there to take it. I am of your minde, quoth *Clearchus*; but I would not signifie so much to the messengers, but linger a little to put them in feare of our refusall of Truce; and I thinke our Souldiers are in the like feare. When he iudged it time, he told the messengers, he accepted the Truce, and willed them to leade immediately to the place, where prouision might be found: which they did. *Clearchus*, albeit he purposed to accept Truce, yet marched on with his Armie in order of battell himselfe following in the Reare. He chanced vpon Ditches and draines full of water, which were not passable without Bridges. Yet framed they a passage with Palme trees, of which some were already fallen to the ground, other some they felled themselves. A man might hereby perceiue the sufficiencie of *Clearchus* his command, who carying in the left hand a Pike, in the right a Trunchion, in case any man appointed to worke seemed to slacke, chusing a fit man in his place, he chastised and put him off, and withall thrusting into the dirt himselfe, set his hand to the worke. So that it seemed a shame to all, that had the worke in hand, not to make haste, and be earnest in it. The worke was by him laid vpon the Souldiers of 30 yeeres of age. But the elder fort

The *Grecians* accept the Truce.

The diligence and sufficiency of *Clearchus* in his command.

fort vndertooke it also, when they saw *Clearchus* so busie about it. And he hastened the more, suspecting, that the Ditches were not at all times so full of water (for it was no time of the yeere to water the Plaine) but that the King had let the water in, to the end, that the difficulties of the journey might seeme to the *Grecians* greater and more in shew, than they were in deed. Marching on, they came to the villages, in which the guides assigned their prouision. There was much Wheat, and Wine of Palme to be found, and Vineger boiled out of Palme nuts. Those Nuts of Palme, such as are not to be seene in *Greece*, were reserved for the Seruants; but the Masters had other chosen out from the rest, of wonderful beautie and greatnesse: The colour of them nothing differeth from Amber, and being dried some of them were vsually set vpon the Table for dainties. The Wine is pleasant, but raising paine in the head. This was the place, where the Souldiers first fed vpon the Marrow of the Nuts of Palme, and many wondred at the kinde and propertie of pleasantnesse of them. This also bred extraordinarie paine in the head. The Palme, when the head is taken out, waxeth wholly dry. Here they rested three daies; and hither *Tissaphernes* and the Kings Wiues Brother, and three other *Persians* with many attendants, came from the great King. When the Coronels of the *Grecians* met them, *Tissaphernes* by an Interpreter began thus: I (o *Grecians*) haue my habitation neere *Greece*, and seeing the dangers & misadventures, which you are fallen into, to be without issue, I besought the King, that he would be pleased to giue me some meanes, whereby, if possibly I could, I might deliuer you into *Greece* in safetie. For I imagine the doing hereof would be acceptable to you, and to all *Greece* beside. In this minde I made suit to the King, alleging he had good cause to be gracious in my suit, for that I first brought newes, that *Cyrus* raised an Armie against him, and withall brought him aid, and alone of all, that were ordered in battell against the *Grecians*, fled not, but brake thorow them, and ioined with him in their Campe, whither the King came, after he had slaine *Cyrus*; and with those, that are now in my company (who are most faithfull to the King) followed the chace vpon the *Barbarians*, that serued *Cyrus*. Whereupon he promised mee to aduise. But he commanded me to goe to you, and demand the reason, why you tooke vp armes against him. I would counsell you therefore to make a milde answer, that I may more easily compasse the good, which shall lie in my power to doe for you. After this the *Grecians* withdrew themselves to consult and giue answer: and *Clearchus* in the name of the rest said: Wee neither assembled our selues to make warre, nor did we take this iourney in hand against the King. *Cyrus* found many pretences, as you very well know, to ingage vs and bring vs hither. When we saw him in distresse, we were ashamed, before gods and men, to betray him, hauing in former times addicted our selues to his seruice. Now *Cyrus* is dead, we neither oppose against the Kings government, nor is there cause for vs to infect his Countries, or to seeke his death, but we would without offence of any man returne to our cuntry. If wrong be

Palme nuts.

by *Clearchus*.

A dissembling speech of *Tissaphernes*.

The answer of the *Grecians*.

The conclu-
sion of truce,
with the con-
ditions an-
nexed.

The assurance
of truce.

Ariens practi-
sed to returne
to the Kings
obeyance.

Suspition of
the Grecians.

Clearchus
confident in
the truce.

be offered vs, we will by the helpe of God defend our selues, as well as we can. If on the other side any man shew vs fauour, we will not, to our power, be behinde in kindnesse. Thus much *Clearchus*; which *Tissaphernes* hearing, said: I will report these things to the King, and to you againe, what the Kings pleasure is. Let the truce continue, till I come. We will exhibite you a marker. The next day he came not, so that the *Grecians* were in a perplexitie, and knew not, what to thinke. The third day he came, and said he had obtained power of the King to preferue the *Grecians*, albeit many gaine said, and vrged, that it stood not with the Kings honour to suffer those, that had made warre against him, to depart quietly. He added at last, you may now take assurance of vs, if you will, to make the countrey your friend, and that without fraud we shall lead you into *Greece*, exhibiting all the way a marker of things necessarie for you, and that where you haue it not, you may lawfully take prouision of the countrey, as you finde it. You on the contrary side must sweare that you will passe shorow the countrey peaceably, taking onely meate and drinke where you haue no marker; where you haue, buying and paying for such things, as you stand in need of. These points were concluded, and *Tissaphernes*, and the Kings wiues brother gaue their oathes and right hands, to the Coronels and Captaines of the *Grecians*, and tooke the like of them. Afterward *Tissaphernes* said, I must for the present depart to the King. When I haue my dispatch, I will come with my baggage readie both to guide you into *Greece*, & also to return to my government. The *Grecians* and *Arius* encamping neere together, waited for *Tissaphernes* more than twentie daies. In the meane space *Arius* his brother, and many other of his friends came to him, and to the *Persians* with him, some encouraging them, other some bringing the Kings right hand, and assurance, that he would forget, that they had serued *Cyrus* in his warre, and all things else; that were past: after which it might easily be perceiued, that *Arius* and his armie made small account of the *Grecians*, in comparison of that, they did before; so that this also was not greatly pleasing to the most part of the *Grecians*, who came to *Clearchus*, and the other Coronels, saying: Why stay we here? know we not, that the King would giue any thing to haue vs destroyed, to the end that other *Grecians* may hereafter be put in feare of bearing armes against him? And now he keepeth vs here, because his armie is dispersed, which being againe assembled, he will in all likelihood set vpon vs. It may be also, hee is intrenching or raising a wall somewhere to blocke vpon our way. For he would not willingly haue vs returne into *Greece*, and report, that being so few in number, we haue vanquished his forces, euen before his owne gates, and now depart homeward in scorn and derision of him. *Clearchus* answered them, that so discoursed; The things, you speake, are likewise in my minde. But I conceiue withall, that if we now depart, we shall seeme to depart as men, that seeke warre, and besides doe against the truce. Furthermore, no man will furnish vs with a marker, nor shall we haue come in any place. Then who shall be our guide?

Further,

Further I know not, whether we haue any other Riuer to passe. For it is impossible to passe ouer *Euphrates*, the enemy opposing against vs. And if we chance to fight, we haue no Horse, whereas the enemies Horse are many; and much esteemed: so that albeit we get the victorie, whom shall we kill? If we be beaten, not a man of vs can escape. If therefore the King should harbour so much as a thought to make vs away, I cannot see why in so many aduantages he should sweare, giue his right hand, & adiuire the gods, and so eleuate his bands of assurance both with the *Grecians* and with the *Barbarians*. He spoke many other things to this purpose. About this time came *Tissaphernes* with his owne Forces, making semblance to march homeward, and with him *Orontes* and his Forces, which last led with him the Kings daughter, whom he had lately married. From thence the *Grecians* proceeded in their iourney, *Tissaphernes* being their guide, and exhibiting a marker of all things needfull. *Arius* also hauing with him the Armie of *Barbarians* that serued *Cyrus*, marched with *Tissaphernes* and *Orontes*, and lodged in the same Campe. The *Grecians* being iealous hereof, marched alone by themselves with their guides. They euer encamped a *Parasang* or little lesse one from another, and they obserued and watched one another, as enemies are wont, which straightway bred a suspition betweene them. Sometime going for wood to the same place, and gathering fodder and such like, they fel to blowes, which also set them at further ods. After three dayes encamping they came to the Wall of *Media*. It was built of Bricke mortered with asphalt, being in thicknesse 20, in height 100 Foot. The length was said to be 20 *Parasangs*. It was not far distant from *Babylon*. From hence they marched eight *Parasangs* in two encampings, and passed ouer two great Draines, one vpon a Bridge, the other vpon Ships ioyned together. These Draines came out of the Riuer *Tygris*, and from them were sewers deriued to water the Countrey, being at the first greater, then lesse, lastly little Draines, such as they vse in *Greece* when *Panick* seed is sown. From thence they came to the Riuer *Tygris*, neere to which stood a great Citie well peopled, named *Sitaca*, being distant from the Riuer 15 Furlongs. The *Grecians* encamped by the Citie neere a faire and large Parke, wherein grew plentie of all manner of Trees. The *Barbarians* passed ouer the Riuer, and were out of sight. After supper *Proxenus* and *Xenophon* chanced to walke before the place of Armes, when there came one and asked the out-watch, where he might finde *Proxenus* or *Clearchus*. He sought not for *Menon*, albeit he came from *Arius Menons* guest. When *Proxenus* told him, he was the man, whom he sought; *Arius* and *Artasus*, quoth he, that were faithfull to *Cyrus*, while he liued, and are now your friends, haue sent me vnto you, and aduise you by me to keepe good watch to night, lest the *Barbarians* assault your Campe. There is a great army in the Parke. Besides they counsell you to put a good guard vpon the Riuer *Tygris*, because *Tissaphernes* is determined this night to breake the Bridge, if he can, to the end to hinder your passage, and to inclose you betwixt the Bridge and the Draine. After they heard this, they led the man to

F

Clearchus,

Arius ioyneth
with the Kings
Forces.

Three miles
three quarters.

The Wall of
Media.
The height 33
yards. The
breadth 6. yards
and more. The
length 75 miles
or thereabout.
30 Miles, 15
mile a day.
Draines of
Tygris.

Sitaca.
A mile & three
quarters.

Parasangs.

Arius his mes-
sage.

A practice of
the *Barbarians*.

A true conic-
ture about the
message.

A Bridge vpon
Ships.

75 miles, euery
day 18 & more.
Eyscus, a Riuer.
Opis.

616 No. The ar-
my must take
vp fūe mile in
length, being
10000, and be-
twixt euerie
ranke six foot.
112 miles, eu-
erie day 18, and
more.

75 miles, euery
day 15.

Clearchus, and imparted the message vnto him. *Clearchus* was much troubled and in extreme feare with the newes. But a young man then present, after he had well ruminated the matter, said: It hangs not together, that *Tissaphernes* should goe about to charge vs, and to breake downe the Bridge. For it is euident, that charging vs he must either ouercome, or be beaten. If he ouercome, what need the Bridge be broken? For admit, there were many Bridges, yet should we haue no where to saue our selues by flight. If he be beaten, whither shall his Armie fly, the Bridge being broken, and most of the Armie being beyond the Riuer, how shall they succour one another, but by the Bridge? After *Clearchus* heard this, he asked, what quantitie of Land lay betwixt *Tygris* and the Draine? He answered, that the territorie was large & had many villages & great cities in it. Here-hence they perceiued, that the *Barbarians* sent the man vnderhand, fearing that the *Grecians* would not passe the Bridge, but remaine in the Island hauing for their Fortification the Riuer *Tygris* on the one side, and the Draine on the other, taking their prouision out of the Countrey, where it was both plenteous and verie good, in which also many Labourers inhabited. Besides the place would be fit for retreat, in case they were disposed to make inroades vpon the Kings dominions. After this they gaue themselves to rest, and yet were not vnmindfull to send a Guard to the Bridge. But neither did any man assault the *Greekish* Campe, nor yet, as the Guard brought newes, did any of the enemy come to the Bridge. As soone as it was day they passed the Bridge in as good order, as was possible; which Bridge was laid ouer the Riuer vpon 37 Ships. Some of the *Grecians* in *Tissaphernes* Campe gaue intelligence, they should be charged in their passage ouer. But nothing of this was true. During the time of their passage *Glus* and others were seene to obserue, whether they passed ouer or no: and when they saw them passing, they spurred away with all speed. From *Tygris* they marched 20 *Parasangs* in foure encampings as farre as the Riuer *Eyscus*. It hath a Bridge vpon it, and neere it a great Citie inhabited, the name whereof is *Opis*, hard by which the bastard-Brother of *Cyrus* and of *Artaxerxes*, leading a great Armie from *Susa* and *Ecbatana* to the Kings aid, met the *Grecians*, and causing his owne Armie to stay, beheld the *Grecians* in their march. *Clearchus* led his men two in a ranke, and oftentimes made Alt in his going on. As long as the Front of the Armie stood still, so long the whole Armie stood also still; so that both the *Grecians* held it a great Armie, and the *Persian* was astonied at the sight thereof. From hence they marched in six encampings 30 *Parasangs* in the Wildernesse thorow *Media* euen vp to the Villages, which appertained to *Parisatis* Mother of *Cyrus* and of the King. These did *Tissaphernes* permit the *Grecians* in derision of *Cyrus* to ransacke, and take out of them, what they list (excepting only the bodies of men.) Much Corne, and many Sheep, and other goods were found there. From thence in fūe encampings in the Wildernesse they marched 20 *Parasangs* leauing the Riuer *Tygris* on the left hand. In the first encamping beyond the Riuer was a great and

Cena, a Citie.
Zabatus a riuer
400. foot broad.

Distrusts be-
twixt the *Gre-
cians* and the
Barbarians.

Conference
betwixt *Tis-
saphernes* and
Clearchus.

The speech
of *Clearchus*.

and rich Citie called *Cena*, out of which the *Barbarians* transported Bread, Cheese, and Wine vpon flote-Boates made of Skins. After this they came to the Riuer *Zabatus*, which was foure *Plethers* broad, and there remained three daies, and still they increased their iealousies, but no manifest deceit or lying in wait of one against the other was perceiued. Therefore *Clearchus* thought it best to conferre with *Tissaphernes*, to allay, if he could, these distrusts, before they broke out into open hostilitie. And hee sent a speciall messenger vnto him to signifie, that hee desired to speake with him, who readily answered, hee might come, when he pleased. At their meeting *Clearchus* begun, and said: I know well, *Tissaphernes*, that we haue sworne and giuen mutuall right hands not to infest, or annoy, one another. I see notwithstanding, you keepe narrow watch vpon vs, as vpon enemies, and we perceiuing it doe as much vpon you; But when, according to my poore vnderstanding, I looked into the matter, and could not finde, you sought to wrong vs, and knew for certain, that to wrong you was furthest from our thoughts, I desired conference, that thereby we might, as much as was possible, take each from other this diffidence. For I am not ignorant, that men fearing one another, whether out of sinister delations, or of iealousie, to the end rather to preuent, than to suffer, bring remediless euills vpon them, that neither seeke, nor thinke the harme, which they imagine is intended. Conceiuing therefore, that such errours are easily laid asleepe by familiar conference, I come to you to signifie, that you distrust vs without cause. For first and chiefly, our oathes forbid vs to be enemies, which whosoeuer neglecteth, I cannot account him happy, in what estate soeuer he flourish; considering that neither speed, nor darknesse, nor strength of place, can assure a man from the vengeance of the gods. All things are subiect to them, and nothing exempted from their power. This is mine opinion concerning the gods, and the oath, to which wee haue mutually bound our selues. Now for you, I hold you, for the present, of all mortall things our greatest good. For with your helpe all wayes are open, all riuers passable, nor can we be destitute of prouision; without you all waies full of darknesse (for we know no foot of them) all riuers shut vp, all gathering of people together fearefull; and solitari-nesse most of all, because it is full of difficulties. And say, we were so mad to seeke your life, what should wee thereby else doe, than by killing a man of such desert toward vs, bring the forces of the great King vpon vs, who would be your reuenger? Besides, for mine owne particular, I will in a word declare of how many, and how great hopes I should deprive my selfe, if I should goe about to wrong you. I sought the friendship of *Cyrus* in imagination, that he, of all that liued, had the greatest abilitie to doe good, to whom he pleased. Now I see the authoritie and countrey of *Cyrus* in your hands, ouer and aboue that, which you had before, and the Kings forces, which *Cyrus* vsed for warre deuolued to you alone. This being so, who would be so senselesse nor to desire your friendship? I will adde the things, which put me in hope, you

Tissaphernes
answer.

will not refuse, nay rather endeavour to be our friend. I know the *My-
sians* are troublesome vnto you, whom with the forces, I haue, I make no
question to humble at your feet. The like I know of the *Pisidians*. Be-
sides I heare, that many other nations are alwaies malicious and repi-
ning at your felicitie. As for the *Aegyptians*, whom you principally beare
vpon the spleene, I see not with what aides you can better reuenge your
selues vpon, then with the army vnder my command. Your neighbours,
if you please to befriend any, you are of abilitie to doe it munificently
of your selfe; in case they molest you, you may chastise them, as a ma-
ster, and that much the rather by our seruice, who will follow you not
for pay alone, but more for thankfulness, in regard you haue preserved
and brought vs home safe to our country. When I consider these things,
it seemeth so wonderfull vnto me, that we should be distrusted, that I
would faine heare his name, who is so powerfull in speech, as to per-
swade, that we lie in await for you. These were the words of *Clearchus*
to *Tissaphernes*. *Tissaphernes* answered in this manner: It is a ioy to me,
Clearchus, to heare your wife and discreet discourse. For seeing you vn-
derstand these things to be so, you cannot with me ill, without being an
enemy to your selfe. But that you may learne, you cannot iustly leaue
and forsake the King, heare on the contrary side. If we had any intent,
to ruine you, whether doe you thinke, we wanted meanes, hauing mul-
titudes of horse, and foot, and weapons to cut you in peeces, without
any danger of ours? Imagine you, we wanted fit ground to fall vpon
you? Passe you not with much labour many plaines, that are friend to vs?
See you not, what mountaines you are to march ouer, which if we take
before hand, your passage is shut vp? How many riuers are there, where
we may make choice, and, as it were, cull out that number of you, with
which we list to fight? There are also amongst them some, that you can-
not passe without our friendship and assistance. But say we had the worst
in all these, yet hath fire the command of all fruit, that ariseth of the
earth. Which if we burne, we shall oppose hunger against you in the
field, with which you shall neuer be able to fight, were you neuer so va-
liant. How then hauing so many aduantages, and all without our owne
perill, should we amongst the rest chuse such a kinde alone, as is impious
against the gods, abominable before men, and such a one as befitteeth
them, that know not what to doe, and are circumvented with distresse,
and ouerwhelmed with necessitie, and which is beseeeming loose per-
sons, who care not so they may effect their designes, though it be with
periury against the gods, and with vnfaithfulness toward men. Wee,
Clearchus, are not so void of sense, or destitute of reason. When we
might haue cut you off, why did we not? It proceeded out of my loue,
that I might shew my selfe an entire friend to the *Grecians*, & by my well
deferring descend into my gouernment strong with those forces, with
which *Cyrus* ascended, being assured of them, by reason of the entertain-
ment hee gaue them. You haue declared how many waies, you may
stead me. But I know my selfe the chiefe and principall. It is not law-
full

full for any, but the King, to weare his *Tiara* vpriight vpon his head; But
with your preface and assistance, perhaps another man may carry it vp-
right in his heart. Hauing spoken these words, he seemed to *Clearchus*
to deliuer that, he thought. Considering then, quoth *Clearchus*, we haue
such cause to be friends, are not they worthy to taste extreme punish-
ment, who by sinister suggestions endeavour to make vs enemies? If you,
quoth *Tissaphernes*, and the Coronels and Captaines please openly to
come vnto me, I will tell you, who they are, that informed me. By these
words, and courteous entertainment, *Tissaphernes* preuailed to make him
stay, and beare him company at supper that night. The next day *Clear-
chus*, after his returne to the quarter, declared publickly how well hee
thought of *Tissaphernes*, and related, what he heard from him; and said,
That it was fit, that they, whom *Tissaphernes* desired, should accompany
him to *Tissaphernes* his campe: and likewise that they, who as traitors, and
bearing no good affection to the *Grecians*, had slandered them with false
suggestions, might haue their due punishment. He suspected *Menon* to
be the tale-bearer, knowing he often resorted to *Tissaphernes* with *Arius*,
and that he opposed against him in his command, & sought to supplant
him, to the end that gaining the leading of the army, he might shew
himselfe a friend to *Tissaphernes*. For *Clearchus* would haue the whole
army to cast their eyes vpon him alone; and sought to remove all, that
seemed discontent therewith. Some of the Souldiers spake against the
sending of all the Coronels and Captaines, and said, No trust was to be
giuen to *Tissaphernes*. But *Clearchus* laboured eagerly to the contrary,
till hee brought to passe, that five Coronels and twentie Captaines were
allowed to goe; two hundred Souldiers followed them, vnder colour to
buy victuall. When they were at *Tissaphernes* his doore, the Coronels
were called in, to wit, *Proxenus* the *Baotian*, *Menon* the *Thessalian*, *Agius*
the *Arcadian*, *Clearchus* the *Lacedemonian*, and *Socrates* the *Achaean*. The
Captaines staid at the doore. Not long after, at one and the same signe
hands were laid vpon those within, and those without were cut in pee-
ces, and some of the *Barbarian* hors-men scouring the Plaine, killed all
the *Grecians*, they lighted vpon, free, and bond. The *Grecians* perceiuing
these things out of the campe, marvelled at their manner of riding
vp and downe, and doubted of the sequell, till *Nearchus* the *Arcadian*
came running with his entrails in his hands after a wound receiued, and
told what had happened in the campe of *Tissaphernes*. Hereupon all the
Grecians affrighted snatched vp their armes, imagining the *Persians*
would presently inuade their campe. But there came no more, than
Arius, *Artochus*, and *Mithridates*, men of chiefe credit with *Cyrus*. The
interpreter of the *Grecians* said, He saw and knew *Tissaphernes* his brother
amongst them. About three hundred *Persians* followed them in Cura-
ces. These, when they came neere, willed, if there were amongst the
Grecians any Coronell or Captaine, he should come forth, and heare the
Kings pleasure. Thereupon after assurance giuen, *Cleanor* the *Orcho-
menian*, and *Sophenetus* the *Stymphalian*, both *Grecian* Coronels, issued
out;

“
“
“ *Tiara* was an
“ attire that
“ the *Persians*
“ wore on
“ their heads.
“
“

Clearchus over-
reached by the
cunning of *Tif-
saphernes*.

Five Coronels.

The Coronels
taken prisoners
by *Tissaphernes*.

Falſe pre-
ſences of a
ſoule action.

The falſeneſſe
diſcouered.

A deſcription
of Clearchus his
naturall diſpo-
ſition.

The Iſland in
Thrace borde-
ring vpon Hel-
leſpont.
A towne lying
vpon the ſame
Sea.
The narrow
Sea beſide Con-
ſtantinople.
Lacedemon.

out; and with them *Xenophon* the *Athenian*, to learne what was become of *Proxenus*. *Cherſophus* chanced then to be abſent, being gone to a certaine village to make prouiſion. Comming within hearing, *Arius* ſaid: *Clearchus* (ô *Grecians*) hauing falſified his Oath, and broken the truce, hath his iudgement, and is dead. *Proxenus*, and *Menon*, are in great honour, becauſe they reuealed his treaſon: and the King demandeth of you your Armes. He ſaith they are his, becauſe they belonged to *Cyrus* his Seruant. The *Grecians* answered hereto by the mouth of *Cleanor*; O *Arius*, the moſt execrable of men, and all ye, that were *Cyrus* his friends: Bluſh you not before the gods and men, that hauing ſworne to vs to haue the ſame friends and enemies, you now ſeeke to betray vs with *Tiſſaphernes* a moſt godleſſe and faithleſſe man? and after you haue made away them, to whom you gaue your Oath, you goe about to deſtroy the reſt, and come with our enemies againſt vs. *Arius* answered, *Clearchus* ſought firſt to entrap *Tiſſaphernes*, and *Oromies*, and all of vs, that were with them. Hereunto *Xenophon* replied: If *Clearchus* haue againſt his Oath broken the truce, he hath his iudgement. For it is iuſt to puniſh periured men. But *Proxenus* and *Menon* hauing behaued themſelues towards you as friends, being our Coronels, let them be reſtored vnto vs. For being friends to both, no doubt they will aduiſe you, and vs for the beſt. The *Barbarians* hauing long conferred together, departed without giuing answer hereto: but the Coronels ſo caught in the ſnare were deliuered ouer to the King, and ended their daies, being made ſhorter by the head. Of whom *Clearchus* by conſent of all, that had acquaintance with him, was held a man of marriall diſpoſition, and extremely deſirous of warre. For as long, as warre continued betwixt the *Lacedemonians* and *Athenians*, he remained at home. Peace being made, he perſwaded his Citie, that the *Thracians* wronged the *Grecians*. And viſing all meanes he could, obtained of the *Ephori* a Commiſſion to be General & to goe againſt them, and ſhipped himſelfe with purpoſe to inuade thoſe *Thracians*, which inhabit about *Cherroneſus* and *Perinthus*. But after his departure the *Ephori* changed their mindes, and ſent to call him home from *Iſtmos*; which meſſage of theirs he obeyed not, but continued his nauigation to *Helleſpont*. Whereupon the Magiſtrats of *Sparta* condemned him, as a diſobedient Subiect, vnto death. Being now a baniſhed man, he iourined to *Cyrus*, whoſe friendſhip, after what ſort he gained, I haue written elſe-where. *Cyrus* gaue him 10000 *Daricks*, which he ſpent not in idleneſſe, but waging an Army therewith, made warre againſt the *Thracians*. And firſt he vanquiſhed them in a battell, afterward harried & ſpoiled their Countrey, and continued that warre, till *Cyrus* ſtood in need of his Armie. Then he departed with intent to follow the ſeruiſe of *Cyrus*. Theſe therefore were the actions of a man that delighted in warre; who, when he might haue liued in peace without ſhame or damage, choſe to be in warre; might haue reſted in idleneſſe, gaue himſelfe to labour, and warre; might without danger haue enioied riches plentifully, beſtowed them rather vpon warre. Such was his diſpoſition to warre,

warre, and he ſpent as willingly vpon warre, as if it had been vpon loue, or other pleaſures. It appeared alſo, that he was of a warlike inclination, becauſe he loued danger, and led his people as well by night, as by day againſt the enemy; and demeaned himſelfe wiſely and circumſpectly, when he was in perill, as all, that followed him, confeſſe. Beſides, he was ſaid to be an excellent Commander according to his manner. For, if any man elſe, *Clearchus* knew how to make neceſſarie prouiſion for his army, and to ſupply the wants thereof in time of need: and how to breed an opinion in his Souldiers, that *Clearchus* his command was not to be diſobeied. This he effected by his ſourenelle, and auſteritie, being ſterne in viſage, and harſh in voice, and alwaies viſing extremitie in puniſhment, and ſometimes with choler, ſo that the time was, when he repented of his haſtineſſe. He chaſtiſed his Souldiers of ſet purpoſe; thinking an Armie vnpuniſhed to be of no uſe. This ſaying of his is alſo reported; That a Souldier ought rather to feare his Commander, than his Enemy, in caſe he were to ſtand well to his guard, or to abſtaine from ſpoiling his friends, or to goe without reſuſall againſt an enemy. Therefore the Souldiers heard him willingly, and required no other Commander in time of danger. They ſaid, that ſterneneſſe then ſeemed cheerfulneſſe in his countenance, and ſourenelle a kind of ſtrengthening againſt the enemy. So that now it was no more auſteritie, but, as it were, a preferuatiue. When they were out of danger, & might follow other Commanders, many forſooke him. For he had nothing in him to win fauour; but was alwaies ſoure and cruell, ſo that Souldiers affected him as children doe their Schoolemaſter. Neither had he any man, that followed him for loue; but whoſeuer were put vnder his command either by the citie, or elſe by neceſſitie and want, they were wonderfully obedient to him; & after they had overcome the enemy vnder his leading, his meanes were great to make his Souldiers ſeruiſeable. For they marched againſt the enemy with great aſſurance, and the feare of puniſhment kept them in good order. Such a Commander was *Clearchus*. It was ſaid, he had no great deſire to be vnder an other mans command. Hee was about fiftie yeares old, when he died. *Proxenus* the *Baſtian* ſought euen from his childhood to become a man fir for great employments, and out of this deſire he gaue entertainment, and addicted himſelfe a ſcholar to *Gorgias* the *Leontine*; and after he had conuerſed with him a time, thinking himſelfe now both able for government, and alſo that being in eſtimation with the greateſt, he ſhould not faile of meanes to preferre himſelfe, he went and ioyned with *Cyrus* in the ſame actions, imagining thereby to purchaſe a worthy name, and great power, and plentie of riches; and albeit his deſires were ſuch, notwithstanding it appeared evidently in his carriage, that he wiſhed not by ill meanes, but fairely and iuſtly, and no otherwiſe to come vnto them. He was able to manage matters of importance, and worth, but yet could neither raiſe reuerence, nor feare in his Souldiers mindes toward him. Nay rather he reuerenced them, than they him; and ſhewed cleerely, he more feared their hatred, than not to haue them obedient to him.

His diligence.

His ſkill.

Seueritie.

Ambition.

Proxenus.

His induſtry
being young.

His ends.

Modestie.

Remiſneſſe.

Menon.

His desire of
wealth.

Impudencie.

Deceitfulness.

Calumniation.

Impudicitie.

Death.

him. He thought it sufficient to be, and seeme to be, to praise a well-deserving souldier, not to commend him, that did amisse. The honest therefore, and better sort of Souldiers were well affected toward him; the other sought to circumuent him, as being easie to be ouertaken. He was about thirtie yeares old, when he lost his life. *Menon* the *Theſſalian* made open shew, that he greedily coueted riches, and coueted rule thereby to waxe worthier, and coueted honour to bring in gaine. He insinuated himselfe into great mens fauour, to shelter his faults from punishment. To forswear, to lie, and deceiue, he held the next way to effect his desires: simplicitie and truth he accounted all one with dulnesse, and want of vnderstanding. It could not be perceiued, that he loued any man. To whom he made most shew of loue, him he sought to beguile. In his common discourse, he vsed not to deride an enemy; but scoffed alwaies at them, with whom he conuersed. He neuer lay in wait for enemies goods, because he iudged it hard to finger that, which was kept, but imagined, that he alone knew, that because the goods of friends were vnder no streight custodie, they might easily be surprisid. Periured and wicked folke he feared, as men armed, and abused at his pleasure vp-right, and well-minded men, scarce esteeming them for men. *Menon* no otherwise reioyced, in deceit, forging of lies, and deriding his friends, than another man would in godlinesse, truth, and iust dealing. He esteemed him, that was no circumuenter, to be vnnurtured, and to want education. In seeking great mens fauour, he thought there was no other way, than by accusing them, that stood in their speciall grace. He endeououred to make his Souldiers obedient with societie of villany. He looked for respect, because in many things he had abilitie, and will to doe wrong. If any man forsooke him, he said he dealt kindly with him, for that he had not made him away. But the things concerning him, that are not so openly knowne, may seeme to be fained. Euery one knowes these, that follow. Being in the flower of his age he obtained of *Aristippus* the leading of the strangers in the army; and in the flower of his age he grew into the familiaritie with *Arius*, who was a *Barbarian*, and delighted in young boyes; and hauing yet no haire on his face, he fell in loue with *Tharipus*, that had a beard. When the other Coronels were made away, because they bore armes with *Cyrus* against the King, he scaped being in that same fault. Yet after the death of the other Coronels was he punished and put to death by the King; not losing his head, as *Clearchus* and the other, (which seemeth to be the fairest and most honourable kinde of death) but he is reported to haue come to his end, as a wicked man, being put to continuall torments by the space of a whole yeare. *Agias* the *Arcadian*, and *Socrates* the *Achaean*, lost their heads at the same time, whom no man euer scorned as slacke and sluggish Souldiers, nor blamed as disloyall and vntrue friends. They were each of them about fortie yeares old.

Finis Libri Secundi.



THE THIRD BOOKE OF THE HISTORIE OF

XENOPHON, TOUCHING THE

Ascent of CYRVS the younger, out
of Asia the Lesse, into the Higher
COUNTREYS.



What was done by the *Grecians* in their Ascent with *Cyrus*, vntill the battell fought, and what befell them after the death of *Cyrus* returning homeward in the companie of *Tissaphernes* according to the truce, is declared in the former discourse. After the Coronels were apprehended, and as many of the Captaines and Souldiers, as followed them, slaine, the *Grecians* were forced into great streights and perplexiue, especially when they considered, that they were at the Kings Gates, and round about them both Nations and Cities enemy, and from thenceforward no man would store them with prouision, and that their distance from *Greece* was more than 10000 Furlongs, that they had no guide of the way, that their returne was shut vp betwixt vnpassable Rivers, and were betraied also by those *Barbarians*, that ascended vp with *Cyrus*, and left alone, hauing not so much as a Horse-man on their side, so that it was manifest, that albeit they gained the victorie, they should not be able to slay an enemy; in case they were beaten, no one of them should remaine alieue; weighing these things in their mindes, and thereby being full of griefe, few of them tasted Food that euening, few kindled Fires, and not many tooke Armes the whole night; and euery man laid himselfe downe to rest, there, where he chanced to stand, being vnable to sleepe for sorrow, and for desire of his Countrey, Parents, Wife, and Children, which he made account neuer to see againe. In this distresse they reposed themselues. There was in the Armie one *Xenophon* an *Athenian*, who followed the Campe, being neither Coronell, nor Captaine, nor Souldier, but was sent for from home by *Proxenus*, that was his

About 1250
mile.

The distressed
estate of the
Grecians.

Xenophon.

Inuited to
serue *Cyrus*.

G

guest

So rates his
counsell to
Xenophon.To the Oracle
of Apollo.Mispropound-
ing his ques-
tion.Xenophons
griefe.

His dreame.

His discourse
in minde.

guest of old. He promised *Xenophon*, if he would take the paines to come, to make *Cyrus* his friend, who as he esteemed would be more to be prized of him, than his owne Countrey. *Xenophon* reading the Letter conferred with *Socrates* the *Athenian* about the iourney; and *Socrates* misdoubting, that to be *Cyrus* his friend, would turne him to displeasure with the Citie (because *Cyrus* seemed to ioinc willingly in warre with the *Lacedemonians* against *Athens*) aduised *Xenophon* to repaire to *Delphos* and aske counsell of the god concerning his iourney. *Xenophon* therefore going thither, demanded of *Apollo*, to which of the gods he should offer praier and sacrifice, that thereby he might prosper, and doe well, and be preserved from all dangers in the iourney which he conceiued in his minde. *Apollo* answered, he should sacrifice to the gods, to whom he ought to sacrifice. After his returne to *Athens*, he communicated the Oracle with *Socrates*: who, when he heard it, blamed *Xenophon*, because he demanded not, whether it should be better for him to trauell or to stay at home, but (as though he had alreadie resolved to goe) demanded, how he might best accomplish his iourney. But seeing you haue propounded your question in this forme, quoth *Socrates*, you are to doe that, which the god commandeth you. *Xenophon* therefore sacrificing, as the god had commanded, tooke shipping and sailed away, and found *Proxenus* and *Cyrus* at *Sardes* (who were now readie to take their iourney vpward) and was forthwith presented to *Cyrus*. *Proxenus* earnestly requested him to stay; and *Cyrus* did the like; but added, that as soone as the Armie was dissolued, he would immediately giue him leaue to depart. The iourney was noised abroad to be against the *Pisidians*. *Xenophon* therefore followed the warre being thus deceived not by *Proxenus* (for neither he, nor any other of the *Grecians*, except *Clearchus*, knew of *Cyrus* his intent against the King) but when the Armie came into *Cilicia*, there was no man so simple, but he easily perceiued, that they were led against the King. And albeit they feared the length of the way, and were vnwilling to proceed further, yet the most part in regard of mutuall respect one to another, and of the loue they bore to *Cyrus*, continued on the iourney: amongst whom *Xenophon* was one. And being now in this distresse, he was sorrowfull with the rest, but yet taking a little nap he fell into a dreame. It seemed to him, that in a thunder the bolt fell vpon his Fathers House, and that the whole House was therewith set on fire. Being affrighted, he started out of his sleepe, iudging that the dreame was good in part, because being in trauell and danger he saw a great light proceed from *Iupiter*: In part he feared it, because it seemed to come from *Iupiter* being a King, and to shine in a circle; imagining he should not be able to get out of the Kings Countrey, but be inuironed on all sides with some one distresse or other. Now what the signification and effect of such a dreame was, might be easily perceiued by the sequell. For it fell out, that, straight after that he awaked, he entred into this cogitation with himselfe: Why lie I here? The night passeth away; and it is likely that the enemy will fall vpon vs, as soone as the day appeareth. If we come into the Kings

Kings hands, what shall hinder, that hauing first scene with our eyes all manner of scornes, and next felt all kinde of torments, we die not afterwards a shamefull and villanous death? Now no man maketh preparation for defence, nor so much as once thinketh vpon it: but we lie still, as though we were in securitie. What Commander therefore doe I expect out of any other Citie to direct vs? Or what age doe I looke to attaine vnto? If to day I betray my selfe to the enemy, I shall neuer be an houre elder. Hereupon he presently arose, and first called together the Captaines of *Proxenus* his Regiment. Then he spake thus: Worthy Captaines, the consideration of our estate will neither suffer me to sleep (which I thinke is your case as well as mine) nor yet to lie still and giue my selfe to rest. Our enemies, vntill they imagined they had brought their designs to a wished end, forbore to offer open hostilitie. Of vs on the other side there is no man that casteth in his minde, how we may best come to fight, and defend our selues against the enemy. For if we yeeld and subiect our selues vnto the Kings power, what hazard shall we not incur? He cut off the head and hand of *Cyrus*, and fastened them to the Gallowes, who was his Brother both by the same Father and Mother, and alreadie dead. We then, who haue here no kinred, who tooke vp armes against him, who sought to establish his seruant in his Throne, and to make away the King himselfe, if it lay in our power, we I say, what may not we expect to suffer? Will he not vse all meanes possible to lay vpon vs extremitie of punishment, thereby to strike a feare into other, that they presume not to warre against him? Surely we are to trie our vttermost endeouours, that we fall not into his hands. For my part I ceased not, euen while the truce endured, to bemoane our case, and to esteeme the King, and such as followed him happy, seeing with mine eyes, how large and goodly a countrey they enjoyed, what plentie of prouision, what a number of attendants, how many carriage-beasts, what quantitie of gold, and of apparell they possessed; and on the contrary side, comparing the condition of our army, that enjoyed nothing of value, but what was bought with mony (which I knew but few had) & was debarred of other means of prouision, by reason of their oath and agreement. Casting, I say, these things in my minde, I feared then the truce more, than I doe now the warre. And considering the enemy himselfe hath broken the truce, I thinke, that both their insolencie and our suspicions are come to an end. For now all the advantages, whereof I spake, are laid in the midst, as it were, betwixt vs both, as rewards for those, that shall behaue themselves most valiantly. The gods are Iudges, and giue successe to battells, who in all reason will be on our side. Our enemies in forswearing themselves, haue broken their faith vnto them: We contrariwise, hauing many faire advantages offered vs, constantly forbore to take them for our oathes sake made to the gods. So that, methinkes, we ought to goe forth to battell with much more courage and assurance, than they. Further, our bodies are more able to endure cold, and heat, and labours, than theirs,

His resolution.
His speech to
the Captaines
of his owne
Regiment.

Apollonides a
harsh counsell-
er.

Assembly of
the army.
ἄσπλητος.
ἀσπλητος.
ἀσπλητος.

Jerome the
Eleans speech.

and, by the fauour of the gods, our mindes more noble. Besides, they will be more subiect to wounds, and death, than we, in case the gods (as they haue done heretofore) vouchsafe to giue vs victory. But it may be, that other men harbour these cogitations, as well as we. For the loue of God let vs not expect, that other come and encourage vs to be braue and resolute, but let vs begin to excite other to valiance. Shew your selues gallantest amongst Captaines and most fit to command amongst Coronels. My selfe, if you shall be pleased to leade me, will follow; if you appoint me a leader, will not excuse my selfe by want of yeares, but rather conceiue that youth may strengthen and preserue me from many mischances. Thus much he spake. All the Captaines hearing it, willed him to proceed, except one *Apollonides*, a man that clattered rudely in the *Bæotian idiom*. He said, they spake idly, that sought to perswade, that there was any other hope of safetie, than in the Kings fauour, if it might be gained, and withall began to reckon vp the distresses, we were in. *Xenophon* in the meane time interrupting him replied: O strange man, that you are, who neither seeing know, nor hearing remember. You were present, when the King, proud of his victory, after the death of *Cyrus* sent vnto vs, commanding to deliuer vp our armes. When we refused, and marched forward in armes, and encamped close by him, what did he not to procure truce; sending Ambassadors, and demanding cessation of hostilitie, and offering to furnish the army with prouision. But after the Coronels and Captaines (as you now would haue vs) in confidence of the truce, went without armes to conferre with them; are they not now scourged, wounded, and scorned, and yet cannot die poore men, albeit, I perswade my selfe, they infinitely desire it? All this you see, and say notwithstanding, they speake idly, that aduise to stand vpon our defence; and would haue vs to sue to the King anew to obaine his fauour. For my part (Companions) I hold this fellow not onely vnfit henceforward to be admitted into our societie, but also worthy to lose his Captaines place, and no otherwise to be employed, than as a carriage-beast; because in bearing this base minde, he both shames his cuntry, and besides disparages the whole *Grecian* nation. Hereupon *Agastias* the *Stymphalian* replied: This fellow hath nothing in him at all, that fauours of *Bæotia*, or *Greece*. For I haue seene both his eares, which are boared thorow, like as are the *Lydian* slaues. And indeed they were so. Therefore they droue him away. The rest going about the campe, where they found a Coronell aliue, called forth the Coronell, where he wanted, the Lieutenant Coronell, and where a Captaine was aliue, the Captaine. When all were assembled, they set downe before the place of Armes, and the Coronels and Captaines, that came together, were about a hundred in number. This fell out almost at midnight. Then *Jerome* the *Eleans*, the eldest Captaine of *Proxenus* his Regiment, began to speake after this sort: We (worthy Coronels and Captaines) seeing the desperate estate of our present affaires, haue thought good, both to meet here our selues, and to call you together, to the end to aduise vpon some good

Xenophons
speech.

Taxiarchs are
the Captaines
of the light
armed.
Lorhagi the
Captaines of
the armed foot.

Cherisophus.

good course of proceeding. *Xenophon*, quoth he, I pray relate to the assembly the things, which you deliuered vnto vs. *Xenophon* hereupon began thus: We all know, that the King, and *Tissaphernes* haue laied hands vpon as many of vs, as they could, and that they lie in wait for the rest to cut them off. Therefore mine opinion is, that we leaue nothing vndone to auoid the snares of the *Barbarians*, nay rather to become their masters, if it be possible. And you cannot be ignorant likewise, that being so many, as you are here assembled, your demeanour will bring forth effects of great consequence. The eies of the whole army are cast vpon you. If they perceiue, that you faint in courage, you must expect the like from them. But if you appeare resolute against the enemy, and stirre vp the rest, and hearten them, you know well, they will follow, and endeavour to imitate your example. And doubtlesse it is reason, you should carrie brauer mindes than they; you are their Coronels, you their *Taxiarchs*, and Captaines. In time of peace, you enioy more wealth and honour, than they; and now in time of warre it behoueth you to surmount the multitude, and as need shall require, to goe before them in counsell, and paines taking. For the present, first I thinke, you will much aduantage the Army, in making choice of new Coronels and Captaines in stead of them, that are lost. For without rulers nothing that is good or profitable can be administred (in a word) any where, but especially in matters of warre. For as good order seemeth to preserue, so disorder hath ouerthrowne and vndone many. After you haue appointed so many Commanders, as are needfull, if then you call the Souldiers together, and confirme their mindes, you shall not doe it out of season, as I thinke. Now you perceiue as well, as I, how heauily, and drowsily they goe to Armes, how drowsily to the Watch; In which case, as long, as they remaine, I know not, what vse may be had of them night or day. But if a man stirre vp their mindes, and represent, not only what they are to suffer, but to doe also, it will greatly enhance their courage. For you know, that it is neither multitude, nor strength, that giueth victory in warre, but which side soeuer goe (by the fauour of the gods) into the field with brauer and gallanter resolutions; they for the most part preuaile. It commeth besides into my minde, that whatsoeuer he be, that seeketh by all meanes he can to saue his life in warres, he commonly dies a vile and dishonourable death. But they which know, that death is common and vnable to all men, and that strue to die with honour, I see them much sooner reach to old yeares, and spend the remainder of their life in happinesse. Which we should doe well to consider, especially in this hard time; and both our selues be couragious, and also excite other to valour, and forwardnesse. So much he spake, and held his peace. After him *Cherisophus* spake and said: Heretofore I knew you (*Xenophon*) thus farre, that you were reported to be an *Athenian*. Now I commend both your speech and actions, and could wish, we had many such, as you are. It would be a common good to all. It remaineth, that we slug not at this instant, but depart every man to his quarter; and you that

that want, choose your Commanders. When they are chosen, come and bring them into the midst of the campe, and present them vnto vs. Then will we assemble the rest of the Souldiers. And let *Tolmides* the Crier come likewise vnto vs. Hauing thus said, he arose, because he would not hinder the dispatch of things needfull to be done. Then were the Coronels chosen: *Timasion* the *Dardanian*, in stead of *Clearchus*; in stead of *Socrates*, *Xanticles* the *Achaean*; *Cleanor* the *Orchomenian*, for *Agius* the *Arcadian*; *Philesius* the *Achaean* for *Menon*; and for *Proxenus*, *Xenophon* the *Athenian*. The day almost appeared before the election ended, and the Commanders came to the midst of the Campe, and it was decreed, that a watch should be set before the Campe, and the Souldiers of the whole Armie called to the assembly. When the rest of the Souldiers were come together, *Cherisophus* the *Lacedemonian* arose, and spake to this effect: My companions in Armes, we are fallen into great straights, being bereaued of such Coronels, Captaines, and Souldiers. Besides, the Armie of *Arius*, which before were our confederates, hath betrayed vs. Notwithstanding it becommeth valiant Souldiers to lift vp their heads, and to make way thorow these euils, and not to faint, but endeuour, as much as in vs lieth, to saue our selues by obtaining a noble victorie against the enemy, and if we faile thereof, to die an honorable death, and not to come alieue into their hands, lest we suffer such things, as, I pray God to turne vpon their owne heads. Next *Cleanor* the *Orchomenian* stood vp and said: You see (fellow Souldiers) the periurie and impietie of the King, you see likewise the falsenesse of *Tissaphernes*, who pretending he was a Neighbour to *Greece*, and that he would at any price be a meanes of our safetie, and hereupon himselfe giuing his Oath, himselfe his right hand, deceiuing vs himselfe, hath apprehended the Coronels, and not fearing *Iupiter* the protector of guests, inuiting *Clearchus* to his Table, and thereby circumuentiong the rest, hath put them all to death. As for *Arius*, whom we would haue made King of *Persia*, to whom we gaue, and from whom we tooke assurance by oath, not to betray one another, he also neither fearing gods, nor men, nor reuerencing *Cyrus*, that is dead (being most of all other, whilest he liued, respected and honoured by him) reuolting to his greatest enemies, goeth about to worke vs mischief, who were *Cyrus* his friends. But the gods will reuenge our wrongs vpon such men. It behoueth vs, hauing these things before our eyes, to be no more ouerreached by them, but with our Swords in hand, and fighting valiantly, to expect, whatsoever it shall please the gods to lay vpon vs. Then *Xenophon* stood vp, hauing apparelled himselfe as brauely, as he could, for the warre; conceiuing, if God gaue victorie, that the fairest furniture was most besitting victorie; if he should be slaine, it would not be amisse to end his daies in his best ornaments. He spake in this manner: *Cleanor* hath discovered vnto you the periurie and faithlesnesse of the *Barbarians*, which, I thinke, is also well knowne to your selues. If therefore we purpose againe to treat with them by way of friendship, we must needs

doe

doe it with great distrust, setting before our sight the miserable case of the Coronels, who vpon trust permitted themselves to their hands. But if we seeke reuenge by Armes for that, wherein they haue wronged vs, and hereafter prosecute all manner of warre against them, we haue, by the fauour of the gods, many and faire hopes of safetie. Whilest he was speaking these words, one of the Souldiers needed: which when the rest heard, all of them at one instant worshipped god: and *Xenophon* said; Seeing whilest we were speaking of safetie, a good foretoken of *Iupiter* the sauour presented it selfe vnto vs, I hold it fit to make a vow to that god, that when we come into a Country, that is friend, we offer a health-offring vnto him; and sacrifice withall to other gods according to our abilitie. You, that are of the same minde, hold vp your hands. They held vp their hands euerie man, and made a vow, and sung the *Pæan*. After all things appertaining to the worship of the gods were duly ended, he thus began againe: I was euen now saying, that many and faire hopes of safetie presented themselves vnto vs. For first we haue performed our Oathes, which we made before the gods, whereas our enemies, as periured persons, haue broken both the Truce and their Oathes. Which being so, there is no question but we shall finde the gods (who are of power sufficient both to humble the mightie, and on the suddaine to preferue the lowly, in what danger soeuer they be) aduersaries to our enemies, and assistants to vs. Next I will put you in remembrance of the noble acts of your ancestors, that you may know, it behooueth you by their example to be valiant, and that valiant men are by the gods preferred from all dangers and distresse. For when the *Persians* and their allies came with a mightie Armie to destroy *Athens*, the *Athenians* being not afraid to meet them, fought with them and had the victorie. And making a vow to *Diana*, to offer vnto her so many Goats, as they killed enemies, when there were not so many to be found, they made a Decree to offer yeerely 500, which number they offer also at this present. Afterward when *Xerxes*, raising an Host without number, came against *Greece*, euen then also our Ancestors ouercame their Ancestors both by Sea and Land, whereof the Trophees erected are tokens. But the greatest testimonie is the freedome of the Cities, in which you were borne and bred. For you worship no man as Lord, but the gods alone, of such Ancestors are you descended. I speake not this, as though you degenerated from them. For many daies are not past, since ordering your selues in battell in the Field against these their posteritie, by the fauour of the gods you ouercame them being many more in number than your selues. And at that time you shewed your selues valiant to the end to make *Cyrus* King. Now when the fight is for your owne safetie, you ought to be much more forward and resolute. Besides you ought to be more confident now than at that time; for then hauing had no triall of them, albeit you saw their number infinite, yet you durst charge them with braue *Grecian* mindes; now finding by experience that, though their number were neuer so great, yet they had not the heart to abide you; why

The superstition of the Gentiles.

A warlike song which they used when they went to charge the enemy.

Braue exploits of ancestors, a great incitement to valour. *Darius* the Father of *Xerxes* sent his General *Datis* with a great Armie which was ouerthrowne by the *Athenians* at *Marathon*. The *Persians* were slaine to the number of 6300. *Herodotus lib. 6.* But *Iustia* reporteth that there were slaine 200000. *Herodotus lib. 7.*

A man is nearest to himself.

Experience of an enemy.

Horse in the
field.Scarcitie of
prouision.Passage of Ri-
uers.Seating in a
strange coun-
trei.

A goldē bridge
is to be made
for an enemy
to runne away.
See *Diod. Sicul.*
l. 11. 21. and the
Lexicon, in *Λο-
γος*: for the
tree and fruit
see *Pliny*, *l. 13. c.*
17. pag. 234.

why should you be afraid of them? And let it not trouble you, that
Cyrus Souldiers haue forsaken you, that before tooke your part.
They are greater cowards, than the other, you haue already bea-
ten. It is true, they haue left you, and are fled to them, and for my
part, whosoever beginneth first to run, I had rather see them with
the enemy, than on your side. But if any of you faint in minde,
because the enemy hath many, you haue no horse, let him consi-
der, that ten thousand horse are no more than ten thousand men.
For no man was euer slaine in battell by the biting or stroke of a
horse. Men they are that performe, whatsoeuer is done in fight. As
for vs, our mounting is much more firme, and stedfast, than theirs. They
hang vpon their horse, and are not only in feare of vs, but to be shaken
off also from their horses, and fall to the ground. We contrariwise
haue sure footing, and shall be able with more assurednesse, to strike any
man, that approacheth vs, & to direct our aime with more certainty. One
aduantage the horse-men haue, that they may more securely run away,
than we. But in case you feare not to fight, but mislike only that *Tissaphernes*
will not be your guide, nor the King prepare a market for you,
you shall doe well to consider, whether is better, to haue *Tissaphernes*
your guide, who euery where seekes to entrap you, or to take guides of
your owne choice, who if at any time they proue false, offend against
their owne soules and bodies. As for prouision, whether is it better to
buy a poore pittance for much mony (which now, being out of pay,
will grow scant amongst vs) out of a market, which they shall furnish,
or hauing the victory, to vse what measure euery man thinketh fittest for
his owne turne. But if you know these things to be so, and feare not with-
standing the passage of riuers, thinking it will be deceitful and dangerous
for you, consider if the *Barbarians* haue not herein also notably plaid the
fooles; For all riuers, albeit farre from their springs they haue hard
passage, yet at their heads a man may go ouer without wetting his knees.
But say we can neither passe the riuers nor finde guides, yet are we not
to despaire. For we know the *Myrians*, whom we cannot esteeme bet-
ter, than our selues, inhabite many and great, and rich cities in the Kings
territorie, and that in despite of the King. As much we know of the
Pisidians. As for the *Lycaonians*, our selues haue seene, that hauing won
many strong places in the Plaine, they doe at this day enioy the fruits
of the Kings country. And I would thinke it fitting, that we also should
make no semblance of returning home, but so demean our selues, as
though our purpose were to inhabite here. For I know the King would
giue the *Myrians* many guides, and many hostages for assurance of their
departure, and would open them a way, yea, if need were, send them
away in Chariots. The like I assure my selfe, he would doe to vs most
willingly, if he perceiued, we prepared our selues to seat here. But I
feare, in case we once learne to liue idly, and in plentie of all things,
and grow into acquaintance with the faire and tall wiues and virgins of
the *Medes* and *Persians*, left after the manner of the *Lotophages*, we forget
the

The fruit is so
pleasent, that
they that taste
it, are loth to
return to their
owne country.

Vnnecessarie
cariage.

Care of the
Commanders.
Obedience of
Souldiers.

the way homeward to our owne country. Wherefore it seemeth
vnto mee fit and reasonable, that we endeavour first to returne into
Greece, to see our kindred and acquaintance, and to shew the *Greci-
ans*, that they willingly are poore, considering, they may, if they
please, send the needier sort of their Citizens hither, where they may
abound in all manner of riches and plentie. For whatsoeuer is good in
the land it will be theirs, that win the victory. Now I will declare
vnto you, how wee shall march with most securitie, and how, if
need be, make our strongest fight. And first, I hold it necessarie to
burne our Wagons, that our cariages be not our masters, and that we
may haue full libertie to march, where it is fittest for the Armie. Then
to burne our Tents, which it will be troublesome to carie them, and
they profit nothing either to fight, or for prouision. Besides to leaue
behind vs our vnnecessarie stuffe, and to take with vs only such as for
warre, or for meat, or drinke we stand in need of, to the end that most
of vs be in Armes, and as few, as may be, busie themselues with vnnec-
essarie cariage. For you know that they, which are ouercome, leaue all
they haue to the spoile of others: being Conquerors, you must esteeme
the enemies to be your cariers and purueurs. It remaineth to speake of
that, which I take to be of most importance. For you see, that the ene-
mie durst not make open warre against vs, till they had laid hold vpon
our Coronels, imagining, that so long as we had Coronels, and were
obedient vnto them, we were able enough to goe thorow slich with the
warre. After they had gotten our Coronels into their hands, they
thought, they might easily ouerthrow vs through default of command
and of order. It behoueth therefore the Commanders, that now are, to
be more carefull, than the former Commanders, and the Souldiers to be
more orderly and obedient, than before. And in case any man obey
not, if you decree, that whosoever is present with the Commander, shall
haue authoritie to chastise him, the enemy will be much deceiued in his
hopes. For they shall see in stead of one *Clearchus* ten thousand, who
will giue no man leaue to play the coward. But it is high time to make
an end. For it may be the enemy will presently be here. Whatsoeuer
then of these things, you shall allow, let it be dispatched out of hand.
If any other man, albeit but a priuate Souldier, conceiue of a better
course, let him speake. For we all in common stand in need of safetie.
Then said *Cherisophus*: If ought else be needfull besides the things, that
Xenophon hath mentioned, it may be done hereafter: Those things, he
hath spoken of, it seemeth fit, they should be decreed. All, that are of
the same opinion, let them hold vp their hands. They all held vp their
hands. Then *Xenophon* standing vp againe, proceeded further, and said:
Fellow Souldiers, heare now what in mine opinion you are to expect. It
is cleere that we are to march thither, where we may finde prouision. I
heare there are good and plentifull Villages not aboute twentie Furlongs
hence. I will not therefore maruaile, as fearefull Dogs are wont, to fol-
low and bite, if they can, such, as passe by, and to run away from those
that

A square hol-
low battell fit
for a march
when it is fea-
red, the enemy
will charge
round about.
ἡ ἀσπίς ἡ
παλαιὰ ἡ
ῥομφαία
Commanders
of the Front,
flanks & reare.

that turne again vpon them, if the enemy do the like pursuing our Reare. But then I hold that our march will be the safer, if we cast our selues into a *Pleſium*, that the baggage & looſe multitude may be conueied in more ſecuritie. If now therefore it be agreed vpon, who ſhall leade the *Pleſium* and order the Front, who the Flankes, who the Reare, we ſhall not be driuen to conſult, when the enemy approacheth, but only execute that, which is concluded. If any man can aduiſe vs better, let vs giue eare to him; if not, let *Cherifophus* haue the leading, becauſe he is a *Lacedemonian*, two of the eldeſt Coronels command the Flankes, I and *Timafion*, as the youngeſt, be in the Reare. And from hence forward, after we haue made triall of this forme, we will vpon all occaſions take counſell, what is beſt to be done. If any man can direct vs better, he hath libertie to ſpeake. When no man ſpake againſt the motion, he ſaid: They that allow of that, which is propounded, hold vp their hands. So it was decreed. Now, quoth he, you are to depart, and put the decree in execution. And wholoener he be amongſt you, that deſireth to ſee his kinſmen and friends, let him remember to ſhew himſelfe a man of valour. For otherwiſe there is no hope thereof: and he, that deſireth life, let him endeouour to ouercome. The Conquerors haue power to ſlay, the conquered are to expect nought elſe, but death. And if he couer riches, victorie muſt be the meanes to obtaine them. They that are Maſters of the Field, are Maſters of their owne, and of their fortunes alſo, whom they ſubdue. Aſſoone, as theſe things were ſpoken, all aroſe and departing, ſet fire on the Carts, and Tents, and on the things, that might wel be ſpared. Some they parted with their friends, the reſt they burned; and ſo went to break-faſt. Whileſt they were at break-faſt, came *Mithridates* with about thirtie Horſes, and called out the Coronels to parley. He ſpake thus: I, o *Grecians*, was (as you know) faithfull vnto *Cyrus*, as long as he liued, and now am a well-willer of yours, and therefore cannot, but remaine in great perplexitie. If then I could ſee, you tooke any ſafe courſe, I would come vnto you my ſelfe, and bring my followers with me. Tell me then, I pray, what your purpoſe is, as to one, that is your friend, and wiſheth you well, and reſolued to proceed with you in the ſame iourney. The Coronels conſulting together reſolued vpon this answer, and *Cherifophus* deliuered it: Our purpoſe is, if we be not impeached, to returne home, and to paſſe thorow your Country endammaging it as little as may be: and if any man hinder vs, to open the way with our Swords. *Mithridates* ſought to perſwade, that without the Kings will and pleaſure, it was impoſſible to depart in ſafetie. Whereby wee vnderſtood, there was no great truſt to be repoſed in him. Beſides it was obſerued, that one of *Tiſſaphernes* his familiar friends was in his Traine to ſee, what was done. And thereupon it ſeemed good to the Coronels to make a Decree, that hereafter no Meſſenger ſhould be admitted from the Enemy as long, as wee were in the Country. For with their entercourſe they corrupted the Souldiers, and

Mithridates ſai-
ned ſpeech.

He diſcouers
himſelfe by
accident.

Meſſengers
from the ene-
mie.

and corrupted one Captaine, to wit, *Nicharchus* an *Arcadian*, who in the night time fled to the enemy with about twentie men. When breakfaſt was ended, paſſing the river *Zathe*, we marched in good order, hauing placed the cariage, and looſe multitude, in the middeſt of the battaile. We had not marched far, before *Mithridates* appeared againe, with 200 horſe, and 400 archers and ſlingers, which were very nimble and light. He, as a friend, came cloſe vp to the *Grecians*: Being neere, ſome of his horſe and foot began vpon the ſudden to ſhoot, other to ſling, and ſo wound the *Grecians*. The reare of the *Grecians* were ſaine to endure all, yet could not annoy the enemy. For the *Cretan* bowe carieth not ſo farre, as the *Persian*; and the *Cretan* archers wearing no armes of defence, were glad to hide themſelues within the body of the armed; and the darters were not able to reach the ſlingers of the enemy. *Xenophon* therefore, hauing the reare, thought good to aduance and follow the enemy; and thereupon fell out with the armed and targetiers of the reare; but could not lay hand vpon any of them. For the *Grecians* had no horſemen, and their foot in ſo ſhort a race could not ouertake the foot of the enemy, (which had the ſtart ſo farre before) and it was not ſafe to giue chaſe farre from the body of the *Phalange*. Beſides, the *barbarian* horſemen, as they fled, ſhot backward from their horſe, and wounded many that gaue chaſe. And as farre as the *Grecians* aduanced, ſo farre muſt they afterward retire, ſtill maintaining the fight; ſo that the whole day they marched not about 25 furlongs, and yet by Sunne-ſet they came to the villages. There againe were they much diſcomforted, and *Cherifophus* and the eldeſt Coronels blamed *Xenophon*, in that he purſued the enemy ſo farre from the *Phalange*, and put himſelfe in danger, and yet no whit endangered the enemy. *Xenophon* hearing it, ſaid, that they reprehended him not without cauſe, and that the action it ſelfe reſtiſied with them. But I was forced, quoth he, to doe, as I did. For I ſaw, that ſtanding ſtill we were ſore diſtreſſed, and not able reciprocally to offend the enemy. And when we fell out, it was, as you ſay. For giuing chaſe we little hurt them, and yet retired with great difficultie. The gods be thanked therefore, that I went not out with many, but with a few. So that I did no great harme, and yet haue found out that; which we ſtand in need of. For now we ſee by triall, that the enemy ſhoors and ſlingeth further, than either the *Cretans*, or our Darters can reach; and when wee fall out after them, wee may not goe farre from the *Phalange*. If but a little way, let the Souldier be neuer ſo nimble, he ſhall neuer be able to come vp to a foot-man, that is diſtant from him as farre, as a bowe can ſhoot. If therefore we will debarre them from annoying vs in our iourney, we muſt quickly provide ſlingers and horſe. I heare there are *Rhodians* in our Campe, of whom the moſt part are reported to haue ſkill in ſlinging, and that their ſlings reach twice as farre, as the *Persian* ſlings. For the *Persians* uſe ſtones, that fill the hand, and therefore ſling not farre, the *Rhodians* leaden bullets. If therefore we inquire, which of them haue ſlings, and reward them; and deliuer to

Zathe a river.
Order of march
in an open
country.

Faire words
turned into a
ſtorme of ho-
ſtilitie.

An errour of
Xenophon.
Advan-
tage of
miſſiue wea-
pons.

Necceſſary mo-
ther of inuē-
tion.

The *Rhodian*
ſlings.

Means to procure readinesse to serue.

other money to make new slings, and besides grant to them, that will serue in that kinde, some other immunities, it may be, we shall finde amongst them, that will be for our purpose. Besides I see horse in the Campe, some of mine owne, some left by *Clearchus*, and many, that haue beene taken from the enemy, and are now become cariage-beasts: If we make choice amongst these, and giue the owners cariage-beasts in exchange, and distribute the horse to horsemen, peraduenture they also will trouble these runners. These things were decreed, and the same night 200 slingers, and the next day 50 horsemen were furnished out, to whom were giuen cassocks and curaces, and *Lucius* the sonne of *Polystratus* an *Athenian* was appointed their Captaine. The *Grecians* taking their rest that day, and rising more early the next, marched forward. They were to passe a valley, in which they feared the enemy would charge them, and being now gotten to the other side of it, *Mithridates* appeared againe, leading with him 1000 horse, and 4000 archers and slingers. For being insolent, because in the former encounter he with a few came off without harme, and yet, as he imagined, very much annoyed the *Grecians*, he required and had so many of *Tissaphernes*, promising, if he obtained them, to deliuer the *Grecians* into his hands. The *Grecians* were past the valley 8 furlongs or thereabout, when *Mithridates* passed likewise with his forces. The Targetiers and armed of the *Grecians* that were to fall out, were before hand appointed, and the horsemen had charge giuen them, not to be afraid in following the chase, because a sufficient number of foot was to second and attend them. By this time *Mithridates* was come vp to the *Grecians*, and the *Persian* slings and bowes bestowed their flying weapons thicke amongst them, when a signe was giuen by trumpet, and immediatly the chosen foot sprung out together, and likewise the horse vpon the spurre. The enemy endured not the charge, but speeded, all he could, into the valley. In this chase many of the *Barbarian* foot died, and about 18 horse were taken aliue in the valley. The *Grecians* without commandement mangled and dismembred the dead carcases, that the sight hereof might henceforward strike a greater feare into the enemy. After this conflict the enemy retired, and the *Grecians* marching on the rest of the day securely, came to the riuer *Tygris*, vpon which stood a great desolate city, the name whereof was *Larissa*. The *Medians* inhabited it of old time. The walls were 25 foot broad, and a hundred foot high: and the circuit of all two *Parasangs*. It was builded of bricke, and the foundation of stone laid beneath the wall, was 20 foot deepe. The King of *Persia* (when the *Persians* gained the Empire) besieging, and assaulting it, could not winne it by any meanes. But the Sunne hiding his head in a cloud appeared not, till the inhabitants forooke it, and so it was taken. Neere to the Citie there is a Stone-Pyramis, the bredth whereof is 600 foot, the height 1200, into which many *Barbarians* conueighed themselves out of the neighbour-villages. From hence in one encamping they marched six *Parasangs*, as far as a great desolate castle hard by a Citie. This Citie name

τολιδος εστιν ονομα.

χαλδαιοι.

A vaine promise vpon an vnsecure ground. A rule.

Omnia repentina terrent.

Larissa a Citie. Bredth 8 yards one 25 part. Height 33 yards, one 100 part. Circumference, miles seuen, & a half. 6 yards 2 foot. 100 yards. 400 yards.

22 mile and a halfe.

name was *Mespila*; the *Medians* sometimes inhabited it. The foundation was of hollow carued stone, and had 50 foot in bredth, 50 foot in heighth. Vpon it was raised a stone wall 50 foot broad, and 100 foot high. The circuit of the wall was 6 *Parasangs*. It is said that *Media* the Kings wife fled hither, when the *Persians* wrung the Empire out of the *Medians* hands; and that the *Persian* King could not take it, either by time or force, till *Iupiter* sent a madnesse amongst the inhabitants, and so it was ouercome. From thence they marched 4 *Parasangs* in one encamping. Here *Tissaphernes* appeared with his owne horse, with the forces of *Orontes* (who had with him the Kings daughter) with the *Barbarians* that ascended with *Cyrus*; with those, that the Kings brother brought to the Kings aide, and with as many other, as the King gaue him. So that the Armie seemed huge and mighty. When he came neere, he ordered some of his troopes against the reare of the *Grecians*, some against the flanks: yet durst he not charge, nor had in minde to hazard battoll. He commanded only his Souldiers to sling and shoot. When the *Rhodians*, that were here and there disperfed amongst the *Grecians*, began to sling, and the Archers after the *Scythian* manner to shoot, and no man missed his marke (for he could not, though he would, in such a multitude) both *Tissaphernes* quickly retired out of danger, and his troopes likewise. The rest of the day the *Grecians* marched on, and the *Persians* followed; but yet forbore to skirmish any more. For the *Rhadians* slinged further, than the *Persians* could sling, and further than most of their archers shot. The *Persian* bowes are great, so that the arrowes, that were gathered vp, serued the *Grecians* to good purpose; For they vsed them much, and endeouored by railing their compasse to send them a great distance. In the villages thereabouts, both many Bow-strings were found, & much Lead, which they conuerted to the vse of slings. And so this day, after the *Grecians* had quartered in the villages, which they happened vpon, the *Barbarians* departed hauing the worst in the skirmish. The next day they sate still, and made prouision of victuals; for there was plenty in the villages. The next day after, they marched forward thorow the *Champeigne*, and *Tissaphernes* followed skirmishing. Here they perceiued, that a *Plasium*, or hollow battell with equall sides, was no good forme to march in, the enemy following in the reare. For in case the wings of the *Plasium* thronged together, either by reason of the straight way, or compulsion of mountaines, or of a bridge, the armed foot must needs be brought out of order, and march at small ease, being partly thronged, partly forced out of the place, they held, and in this disarray there would be no great vse of them. And when the wings were againe opened, they, that were so disordered, must needs be broken asunder, and the middest of the wings emptie, & the souldiers discomforted, especially the enemy being at their heeles. And if a Bridge were to be passed, or some such straight, euery man would haste desiring to be ouer first. So that the enemy had then a faire opportunity to giue on. The Coronels perceiuing this, framed

Mespila a city. 16 yards, three 50 parts. 33 yards, &c. 22 miles and a halfe.

15 miles. *Tissaphernes* with horse.

Horse against the reare and flanks of the *Plasium* at once.

It is like they were heauier, than the arrowes of the *Grecians*.

ομοειδος ιον. ομοειδος.

ἡ δὲ λίσσις αὐτῶν
ἐστὶν αὐτῶν
λογισμὸς.

τὸ δὲ λέγειν.
ἡ δὲ λίσσις.
ἡ δὲ πομπή.
ἡ δὲ ἐνομοτία.
It is to be vnderstood that these new Companies were led euery one in file, and being ioyned together they made fixe files. If then the breach in the Plesium were small, they inserted the fixe files rank-wile to make it vp, if wider, they doubled againe the ranks of the Companies and so filled it with halfe files: if very wide, they doubled the halfe files and filled it vp with Enomoties. The remedy for light armed against forcing of the enemy. The heauie armed vs fit for quicke and nimbale seruice. The higher ground commandeth the lower. Care of the wounded.

Experience the mistelle of alterations in matters of warre.

med six Companies, euery one consisting of an hundred men, and appointed Captaines ouer them, and *Pentecenters*, and *Enomotarches*. These Captaines, when the wings closed and thronged too neere in marching, staid behinde and kept without the wings for feare of disordering them. When the sides of the square battell opened too wide, they filled the middest, if the space were narrow, by Companies, if a little wider by fifties, if very wide by *Enomoties*. So that the middest was alway shut vp and full. If a bridge or other straight were to be passed, there was no disorder, because the Captaines euery one led ouer his Company apart, and when a *Phalange* was needfull, sleeued vp one by another. In this manner they marched foure encampings: the fifth brought them to the sight of a Palace, and of many villages about it. The way leading to it was ouer high hills, which began from a mountaine, vnder which a village was situate. The *Grecians* were glad to see the hills, as was reason, the most part of the enemies forces being Horse-men. But when marching out of the *Champeigne* they had gained the first hill, and descending from thence raised their battell vp against the second, the *Barbarians* were forthwith at hand, and cast weapons at them downe from the higher ground, being compelled with stripes to sling, and shoot; and they wounded many, and had the better of the *Grecian* light armed, and shut them vp within the battell of the armed: so that this whole day the Slingers, and Archers did little or rather no seruice, being glad to hide themselves amongst the vnarmed multitude. And when the *Grecian* armed, being hardly laid vnto, fought to fall out, they had much adoe to climbe the hill in their armour, whereas the enemy retired with ease. Againe, when they retired to the rest of the armed, their danger was as great. Whereupon the Coronels thought good not to moue the army from the third hill. Notwithstanding they led certaine Targetiers from the right flanke of the square battell toward the mountaine. After these had gotten aboue the heads of the enemy, the enemy forbore to presse vpon such, as descended, fearing to be cut off by our Souldiers, that enclosed them on both sides. Thus marched the *Grecians*, the rest of the day, some by the way vpon the hills, other some right ouer against them on the side of the mountaine, till they came to the villages: where they appointed eight Physicians, because many of the Souldiers were hurt. Here they staid three daies, both to sauaour the wounded, and also for that much victuall was found, meale, wine, and barley, which last was laid vp for horses in abundance. All these things were stored and laid vp for the ruler of the Prouince. The fourth day they descended into the *Champeigne*; where when *Tissaphernes* had ouertaken them with his forces, he taught them by necessitie to encampe in the first village, they reached vnto, and to march no more fighting. For many were vnfit to fight by reason of their wounds, many by carrying the wounded, and no lesse they, that had the armes of both charged vpon their backs. After they had taken vp their lodging, the *Barbarians* comming to the village offered skirmish, in which the *Grecians* had a great deale the better.

ter. For it was much easier to sally, and so repress the enemy, than to march fighting with them, as they followed at their backs. When it was night, the enemy was to depart. For the *Barbarians*, fearing to be assailed by night, neuer encampe lesse than sixtie furlongs from the *Grecians*. Their manner of encamping is dangerous also in the night. Their Horse are tied, and for the most part fettered, lest being loose they might happen to run away. And if any tumult arise, a *Persian* must saddle, and bridle, and put on his Curace, and so get vpon his Horse. All which are hard to be done in the night, especially in a tumult. When the *Grecians* perceiued, that the enemy purposed to depart, and had giuen open notice thereof, they proclaimed in the hearing of the enemy, that the army should make readie to march. The *Barbarians* hereupon staid awhile; but the night beginning to draw on, they went their waies. For they hold it not expedient to march, and come to their quarter by night. After the *Grecians* saw plainly, that they were departed, they also trussing vp their baggage, began to march, and iourneied sixtie furlongs; and the space between the armies was so great, that neither the next, nor the third day the enemy could come vp to vs. The fourth day the *Barbarians* aduancing forward by night, seized vpon a high place, by which the *Grecians* must passe of necessitie; namely, vpon a mountaine, vnder which the way lay, which led into *Champeigne*. When *Cherisophus* saw the height of the mountaine possessed by the enemy, he called for *Xenophon* from the Reare, willing him to bring his Targetiers with him, and come to the Front. *Xenophon* brought not the Targetiers with him (for he saw *Tissaphernes* and his whole Armie appeare at their backs) but himselfe speeding came, and asked *Cherisophus*, why he sent for him. You may see, quoth he. The hill hanging ouer our way, is before hand taken by the enemy; and we cannot continue our march, vnlesse he be beaten from thence. But why brought you not your Targetiers with you? Because I thought it not good, quoth he, to leaue the Reare vnguarded, especially the enemy being in sight. But it is time, quoth *Cherisophus*, to aduise, how we shall driue these folks from the hill. Here *Xenophon* marked, that the top of the mountaine was ouer the head of our Armie; and that from thence a way led to the hill, where the enemy stood, and said: Me thinks, *Cherisophus*, it should be best for vs with all speed to gaine the top of the mountaine; which if we once haue, they cannot keepe their ground ouer the way. I will goe, if you please to stay with the Armie; if you please to goe, I will stay here. I giue you the choice, quoth *Cherisophus*. And I because I am the younger, quoth *Xenophon*, will choole to goe. Onely he required, that he might haue Souldiers of the Front to accompanie him; for it was too long to wait for any from the Reare. *Cherisophus* sent with him the Targetiers of the Front, and those, that were in the middle of the hollow square battell; he willed also the chosen 300 men, which he had about him in the Front, to follow *Xenophon*. Then they halted, all they could, to get vp the Mountaine. The enemy vpon the Hill perceiuing that their intent and proceeding was

7 Miles and a halfe.
The manner of the *Persian* encamping.

7 Mile and a halfe.
The *Grecians* march by night.

The *Persians* by night seise vpon a passage.

Meanes to dislodge the enemy, that possesseth a straight.

Iuniores ad labores.

was to possesse the height of the Mountaine, began in emulation forthwith to post thither. There was a great cry in the *Grecian* Armie, a great cry in the Armie of *Tissaphernes*, each inciting and animating those of their owne side. *Xenophon* riding from one to another, exhorted the Souldiers: Now Companions you striue for *Greece*, now for your wiues and children, now taking a little paines, we shall cleere the rest of our iourney from fighr. *Soteridas* the *Sicyonian* answered: You and I, *Xenophon*, stand not vpon like termes of marching. You ride, I am on foot, & by reason of the weight of this Target, haue much adoe to get vp the Hill. *Xenophon* hearing this, alighted from his Horse, and taking from him his Target, thrust him out of his Ranke, and marched on with all speed possible. He had on at that time a horse-mans Curasse, wherewith he was heauily laden, yet proceeding, he exhorted the formost to mend their pace, and those in the Reare (who had much adoe to march) to hasten after. The other Souldiers beat and threw at, & reuiled *Soteridas*, till they compelled him to take his Target againe, and to march on. *Xenophon* mounting againe to Horse, rid as farre, as the ground would giue him leaue. When it began to be rough, and not passable for a Horse, he hastened forward on foot. By this time they had gained the top, and preuented the enemy, who vpon sight thereof, forooke their ground, and fled euerie man, as he could. The *Grecians* made good the top. Then the Armie of *Tissaphernes* and *Ariaus* departing diuerted another way, but *Cherisophus* descending into the Plain, quartered in a Village, that had plentie of good prouision in it. In this Plaine were many other rich Villages situate by the Riuer *Tygris*. When it was now night the enemy suddenly shewed himselfe in the Plaine, and cut in peeces some *Grecians*, that were dispersed here and there hunting after prey. For many Herds of Cattell, transported ouer the Riuer, were here intercepted. *Tissaphernes*, and they that were with him, did all they could to fire the villages; and many of the *Grecians* were much discomforted therewith, conceiuing they should hardly recouer victuall, if the villages were thus burnt and destroyed. *Cherisophus* had sent out some of his people to succour their companions against the enemy, who returned, as *Xenophon* descended from the Mountaine. With these *Xenophon* meeting, rid from ranke to ranke, & said: You see, fellow Souldiers, that the enemy confesseth the Country is none of theirs. For in the truce they capitulated with vs to preferue the Kings Country from burning, now they burne it themselves, as if it were not their owne. But doe, what they list, if they haue victuall for themselves in any part, they shall soone see vs there for our portions. But *Cherisophus*, quoth he, me thinks, we should doe well to giue aid, as to our owne Country, against these burners. I am not of that aduice, quoth *Cherisophus*, but rather I would burne for company to make them the sooner giue ouer. When they came to the campe, the rest busied themselves about prouision, the Coronels and Captaines assembled together in counsell. Here was disputing & aduising, whar to doe. On the one side were high Mountaines, on the other a riuer so deep, that the water couered the ends of Pikes, wherewith the bottome was founded.

The top of the Hill gained.

Carelesnesse of Souldiers in seeking prey. The enemy burneth his own country.

Consultation about their march.

founded. While they were in consultation a *Rhodian* came vnto them, and said: I will vndertake to carie you ouer by 4000 at once, if you furnish me with such things, as I want, & giue me a Talent for reward. Being asked, what things he wanted; I want, said he, 2000 water-budgets, and I see here many Sheepe, Goats, Kine, and Asses, whose skins being flead, and blowen, will easily giue vs meanes of transportation. I shall need also the bands, which you vse about your cariage-beasts. With these I will binde your water-budgets, and fit them one to another, and hang stones vpon them, and let them downe like ankers, & laying them vpon the water, and fastening them on both sides, I wil throw Rise vpon them, & then earth; and that you shall not sinke, you will easily perceiue, in that euerie budget will be able to beare vp two men; and the Rise & earth wil keepe the budgets from tottering, and make them lie firme & stable. When the Coronels heard this, the inuention seemed witty, but the thing it selfe not possible to be performed, by reason there were many horse-men on the other side of the riuer, who would hinder the formost, & not suffer them to proceed in their worke. Therefore they retired the next day in the way, they came (which led to *Babylon*) to the vnburnt villages, setting afire the villages, where they last quartered, so that the enemy offered not to charge, but became lookers on, wondring what way the *Grecians* meant to take, & what their purpose was. The Coronels & captaines assembled again, & calling together the captiues, enquired of the countries round about, what they were, & of their nature & qualitie. They reported that toward the South the way led to *Babylon* & to *Media*, and was the way by which they came; toward the East to *Susa* & *Ecbatana*, where the king was said to passe the summer & spring; ouer the riuer to *Lydia* and *Ionia*; ouer the mountaines & towards the north to the *Carduchans*; who, they said, inhabited the mountaines, & were a warlike people, and refused to obey the king; and that the king sometimes sent against them an army of 12 *Myriades* of men, of whom none escaped & returned back by reason of the roughnesse of the countrie, & that since the *Satrapa*, or ruler, of the next Prouince, made truce with them, they had free entercourse of trade one with another. The Coronels hearing this, set apart by themselves those, that tooke vpon them seuerall knowledge of these things, not declaring what way, they meant to hold. But their resolution was to passe ouer the mountaines against the *Carduchans*. For the captiues said, after they were come beyond the mountaines, they should enter into *Armenia*, a large, and rich country, of which *Orontes* was ruler, and from thence finde the way open & readie to goe, whither a man would. This conclusion being had, they sacrificed to the gods, that they might haue no impeachment, when it was fit to set forward (for they feared the tops of the mountaines might be anticipated) and commanded, as soone as supper was past, that euerie man should haue his things in a readinesse, and giue himselfe to rest, and after follow in the iourney according to direction.

Finis Libri Tertij.

A bridge c'ried.

A bridge without boats or ships.

Two prouinces of Persia. Mountaines neere to Armenia.

Euerie *Myriade* 10000, the whole number 120000 men.



THE FOVRTH BOOKE OF THE HISTORIE OF

XENOPHON, TOVCHING THE
Ascent of CYRVS the younger, out
of *Asia* the Lesse, into the Higher
COUNTREYS.



That happened in the Ascent of *Cyrus* till the battell, and what after the battell in the truce, which the King and the *Grecians* (that ascended with *Cyrus*) had concluded: and after that the King and *Tissaphernes* had broken the truce, what warre was made vpon the *Grecians*, an Armie of *Persians* still pursuing them, is alreadie discoursed. Now when they had proceeded thus farre, and found, that the Riuer *Tygris* was vnpassable by reason of his depth and greatnesse, and that there was no other way to follow, because the *Carduchan* Mountaines being abruptly steepe, lay directly hanging ouer the same Riuer; It seemed good to the Coronels, to continue their march ouer those Mountaines. For they vnderstood by the Captiues, that, after they had once trauesed the *Carduchan* Mountaines, they might passe ouer the Fountaines of *Tygris* in *Armenia*, if they list, if not, they might fetch a compasse about them; and the Fountaines of *Euphrates* were said to be not farre off from the Fountaines of *Tygris*, and that there were some straights in the way. Therefore they marched toward the *Carduchans*, partly in hope to steale away vnespied, partly to preuent the enemy, in case he went about to seise vpon the tops of the Mountaines, and stop their march. It was now about the last warch, and so much night left, as would giue space to passe ouer the Plaine. The *Grecians* euen then rising and vpon a signe beginning their march, came by breake of day to the Mountaines foot. *Cherisophus* led the Vaunt, taking with him his accustomed Troopes, and all the light Armed; *Xenophon* and the Reare-Commanders brought vp the Reare with the Armed alone,

Disposing of
the light-armed
where
need was.

The *Carduchans*.

Obstinacie of
the *Carduchans*.

The perill of
the *Grecians*.

Good order in
passage of
straights and
of mountaines.

Execution of
the order takē.

hauing neuer a light-armed man with them. For it seemed, the reare was without danger to be charged in the ascent. *Cherisophus* attained the top of the hill, before any enemy perceiued it, and he leading on the rest of the armie, followed towards the villages, which were situate in the vallies and windings of the mountaines. The *Carduchans* forsaking their houses, and taking with them their wiues and children, fled to the mountaines. Great plentie of prouision was found here, and the houses garnished with many brazen vessels, which the *Grecians* left vntouched. Besides, they gaue chace to none of the *Carduchans*, of purpose to see, if they might gaine a friendly passage thorow the Countrey, especially seeing both the *Carduchans* and *Grecians* were enemies to the King. Yet being in necessitie they spared not the prouision, which euery man fortuneed to finde. The *Carduchans*, albeit kindly entreated, would neither heare of parley, nor yet shewed any other token of friendship. Whilest the reare of the *Grecians* descended from the height of the mountaines to the villages, it being now darke (for by reason of the straitnesse of the way, the whole day was spent in ascending the hill, and descending to the villages) some of the *Carduchans*, albeit but a few (for the *Grecians* fell vpon them at vnawares) gathering together charged the *Grecians*, and killed some of them, and hurt other some with stones and arrowes; and if many of them had bene assembled, they had no question cut off the most part of the army. That night therefore they lodged thus in the villages. The *Carduchans* on the other side lighted many fires in a circle on the mountaines, and so they looked one vpon another. By day breake, the Coronels and Captaines of the *Grecians* came to counsell, and decreed, that the carriage-beasts necessary, and such, as were best able to endure the hardnesse of the way, should be led on by their owners, the rest left behinde, and that the slaues lately taken, and remaining in the army, should all be cast off. For the carriage and captiues being many, made the march very slow, and cumbersome. And many of them, that rode, were such, as fought not, and the multitude of people being great, double prouision and carriage was requisite in comparison of that, they should otherwise haue needed. These things being so decreed, proclamation was made for the execution. Hauing dined, they marched forward, and the Coronels staying in a straight of the way, wherefoeuer they found any of these things not cast off, tooke it away. The Souldiers were very obedient, vnlesse any man being in loue with a boy, or a woman of the featest fashon, conueied them away by stealth. And so for that day they proceeded in their march, one while fighting, and another while giuing themselves to rest. The next day fell a sharpe storme, and yet a necessitie was laid vpon vs to continue our march, because our prouision failed. *Cherisophus* led the Vaunt, *Xenophon* brought vp the Reare, and the enemy pressed vs fore; and the Countrey being full of straights, they came vp close, and plied vs with arrowes and stones out of slings, so that the *Grecians* sometimes giuing chace, sometimes retiring, were forced to march on slowly. It fell out often, that

Xenophon

Xenophon sent word to that Vaunt to stay, especially at that time, being roundly put to by the enemy. *Cherisophus*, that at other times vpon the receipt of such messages made vsually Alt, made not Alt then, but led away apace, and commanded the rest to follow. So that it appeared, there was some great occasion, and yet there was no leisure to send and know the cause. The march seemed to the bringers vp to be a plaine running, and there was then slaine *Cleonymus* a braue, and valiant *Lacedemonian*, being stricken into the side with an arrow thorow his target, and Souldiers coat; and *Basius* an *Arcadian* pierced in the head. When they were come to their quarter, *Xenophon* attired, as he was, stepped forth with to *Cherisophus*, and blamed him, he made not Alt, whereby he forced them in the Reare to fight in their flight; and now, quoth hee, we haue lost two gallant and worthy Souldiers, and were neither able to bring them off, nor yet to bury them. *Cherisophus* answered; Looke vp, quoth he, to those mountaines and behold how vnpassable they are. There is no way, but that steepe one, you see, and vpon it you may discern the huge multitude, which haue taken, and doe guard the passage. The cause of my speeding, and not staying for you, was to trie, if by any meanes I might preuent their seising vpon the height. For the guides affirme, there is no other way but this. But I haue two guides, quoth *Xenophon*; For when they ceased not to molest vs, I laid an ambush, whereby both we found way to breathe, and also killed some of them, and some other wee endeouored to take aliuie, for this cause especially, that we might vse such, as knew the Countrey, for guides: and immediately bringing forth the men, they examined them apart, whether they knew any other way, than that, which was in sight. One of them, albeit he were diuersly put in feare, would not confesse. When they could get nothing out of him, that was to purpose, they slew him, the other looking on. Hee, that remained aliuie, said, that his Companion would confesse nothing, because he had bestowed a daughter of his in marriage to a man dwelling thereabout. But I, said he, will teach you a way, thorow which the very carriage may easily passe. Being demanded, If that way had no impediment or incumbrance, he answered, There was a top of a hill, which vnlesse it were possessed, it would be impossible to proceed further. Hereupon it was thought good, to call for the Captaines of the Targetiers, and of the armed Foot, and to impart vnto them the estate of the present affaires; and to aske, if any would shew himselfe a gallant, and willingly vndertake the iourney. There offered their seruice, *Aristemimus* an *Arcadian* of *Methydria*, and *Agasias* another *Arcadian* of *Stymphaly*. *Callimachus* a *Parrhasian* *Arcadian*, and this *Agasias* were alwaies at emulation and stroue one with another in all imployments. He offered himselfe vpon condition he might be permitted to take with him the voluntaries of the whole army; For I know, quoth he, that many of the youth will follow, if I haue the leading. Then they asked, if any of the light-armed, or *Taxiarchs* would beare the armed Company. *Aristarchus* the *Chian*, a worthy man, and one that in the like

case

Why the Front
oftentimes
made Alt.

Hee had no
Curace on.

Ambushes laid
in a march, and
why.

About the
passage.

How to giue
vpon an enemy
that possesseth
a straight vpon
a hill.

Emulation in
seruice.

Taxiarchs of
the light-armed.

The ordering
of a guide, that
is enemy.

How to diuert
the enemies
thoughts, and
to conceale our
intentions.
παρεστειν.

The Grecians
gain the height
of the moun-
taine.

The carriage
in the midst.

case had often heretofore done good seruice to the army, presented him-
selfe. It was now late, and the Souldiers were commanded to sup, and
presently to march away. The guide was deliuered bound vnto them,
and order giuen, that if they tooke the top of the hill, they should make
good the place that night, and as soone, as it was day, giue a signe with
the trumpet, and descend and charge the forestallers of the knowne way,
and the rest of the army beneath ascend, and ioine with them in as great
speed, as was possible. This order being taken, there marched out to the
number of two thousand. In the meane time fell much raine. *Xenophon*,
hauiug with him the Reare-commanders, led toward the knowne pas-
sage, to the end the enemy might be intētiue vpon that way, and those
that were appointed to take the top, might the better passe by vnspied.
When the Reare was come to a hollow bottome, thorow which they
must needs passe ere they came to ascend the steepe hill, the *Barbarians*
tumbled downe round stones, of which euery one was of weight suffici-
ent to load a waggon, and many other great and little stones, which rol-
ling and beating vpon the rockes, came bouncing with such force, as if
they had beene sent out of a sling, and made it impossible to come neere
the way. Some of the Captaines seeing that way shut vp, sought to finde
another. This continued till it was darke. The *Grecians* when they ima-
gined, that their deparrure could not be discerned, went hence to sup-
per. For the Reare had not dined that day. The enemy ceased not the
whole night to send downe stones, which might easily appeare by the
continuall sound and noise of the fall. In the meane time those, that had
the guide, fetching a compasse, fell vpon the enemies guards, as they sat
by the fire; and killing some, and giuing chase to the rest, themselves
maintained the place that night, as if they had gained the top. But they
were deceived; for there remained yet a little knop about them, neere
which the straight it selfe was, where the enemies guards did sit. There
was indeed a passage from thence, that led to the enemy. That night
therefore they spent there. As soone as day appeared, they aduanced
silently, and in good order against the enemy. They were neere, before
they could be descried, because of a mist, that fell at the same instant.
When they saw one another the trumpet sounded, and the *Grecians* gi-
uing a shout, aduanced against the enemy; who receiued not the charge,
but forsaking the way, and flying, lost some few of their people. For
they were light-armed. The rest of the army with *Cherisophus*, hearing
the sound of the trumpet, made all haste to ascend by the common way.
Some of the Coronels tooke by-pathes, euery one, as it came to hand,
and climbing, as they could, drew one another vp by the pikes, and so
they were the first, that ioyned with them, that had won the top. *Xeno-
phon*, with halfe the Reare, followed the way, that the guide had showne
to the first (for it was the easiest for the carriage-beasts) the other halfe
he ordered after the carriage-beasts. Marching forward, they chanced
vpon a hill hanging ouer the way, which was held by the enemy; by rea-
son whereof they were driuen to a necessitie, either by force to dislodge the

the enemy from the place and cut him off, or else to be secluded from the
rest of the army. The souldiers might haue followed the way, that the rest
held, & so haue freed themselves from danger, but the carriage could be
led no other way. Exhorting therefore one another, they charged vp the
hill, ordering their Companies euery one in File, not incompassing
the enemy, but giuing them roome to flie, if they were so disposed.
The *Barbarians* seeing them ascend each one, as he could make shift for
himselfe, did neither shoot nor sling at them, as they approached the way;
but presently forsooke the Hill. This Hill the *Grecians* tooke, and seeing
another before them held likewise by the enemy, they resolved to goe
against that also. Notwithstanding *Xenophon* reputing in his minde, that,
if he should leaue the Hill already gained without a Guard, the enemy
seising againe vpon it, might distresse the cariage in passing by (for the
cariage by reason of the straights were extended into a great length) he
left vpon the Hill the Captaines *Cephisodorus* the Sonne of *Kephisophon*
an *Athenian*, and *Archagoras* a banished *Argiue*; himselfe with the rest
continued his march against the second Hill, which also was taken after
the same manner. There remained yet another Hill more steepe, than
the two former, euen the same, that the night before, was by the first as-
cenders won from the enemies Guards, that sat by the fire; to which
when the *Grecians* approached, the *Barbarians* forsooke it without fight;
which made the *Grecians* wonder, and imagine, they feared to be round
encompassed and charged on all sides; but the truth was, that descry-
ing from the top, what was done behinde, they hasted a way to fall vpon
the Reare. *Xenophon*, and the youngest sort of Souldiers had gotten vp
the Hill, and he commanded the rest to follow, till the last Captaines
were come vp, and then he willed them to march forward in the way,
and when they came to euen ground to lay downe their Armes. At
this instant came *Archagoras* the banished *Argiue*, and brought newes
that they, whom *Xenophon* left behinde, were beaten from the first Hill,
and that *Cephisodorus*, *Amphicrates*, and as many other, as leaped not from
the Rocke, and saued themselves amongst the rest of the Reare, were
slaine. The *Barbarians* hauing wrought this feat, conueied themselves
toward the Hill opposite against the top, where *Xenophon* was; and he
by an Interpreter treated with them about truce, and about recouering
the dead bodies out of their hands. They answered, they were readie to
deliuer them vpon condition, the Villages might be spared from fire: to
which *Xenophon* accorded. In the time while this parley was in hand, the
rest of the Armie passed by, and were freed from danger of the place.
The enemy staid there; and when the *Grecians* began to descend from
the top to the place, where the formost had laid downe their Armes, they
in great number and tumult ran vpward, and hauing gained the height,
from whence *Xenophon* descended, rolled downe stones, and broke a leg
of one of the Souldiers. *Xenophon*'s Target-bearer was then away with
his target, which *Eurylochus* the *Arcadian* borne at *Lusium*, a heauy armed
Souldier, perceiuing, came running vnto him, and retiring by little and
little

Raising of for-
ces against a
hill. ὁρῶντες
τοὺς λόφους.

The Hill taken.

Securing of
that Hill.

ὁρῶντες τὴν ὄψιν.

Conditions of
recouering the
dead bodies of
the *Grecians*.

ὁρῶντες τὴν ὄψιν
ἐκκέντρον.

The *Grecians* careful of the buriall of their dead.
Honour of buriall.

Mutual assistance of the Vant and the Reare.

The *Carduchans* good archers.
Their bowes and arrowes length.
The force of their shot.

Centrites a riuer.
Σεντρίτης.

Three quarters of a mile, or thereabout.

The *Chaldeans*.

χάλδαιοι.

A Plether 100 Foot.

little protected both himselfe and *Xenophon* with his Target. So they all came vp to the vant which stood in order of battell. Now were all the *Grecians* come together, and they quartered in many faire houses hauing large prouision, and plentie of all things. There was much Wine kept in Cisternes, plaistered with mortar. Afterward *Xenophon* and *Cherisophus* so wrought with the *Barbarians*, that they recovered the bodies of the dead in exchange for the Guide, whom they deliuered vp; and they buried them with as great honour, as was possible to be giuen to worthy and valiant Souldiers. The next day we marched on without a Guide. The enimie fighting with vs, and taking the straights, which lay in our way, endeououred to hinder and shut vp our march. But when they opposed against the Vant, *Xenophon* from the Reare ascending the Mountaines and gaining the vpper ground remoued all the impediments, the enimie could cast vpon the way: when against the Reare, *Cherisophus* ascending tooke the vpper ground likewise, and freed the way for them, that came behinde. So they alwaies succoured and had mutuall care one of another. Sometimes also the *Barbarians*, after the *Grecians* had got vp to the heights, annoied them spitefully in their descent. They were light-Armed, and coming close vp they might easily shift away at their pleasure, because they caried no other furniture, then Bowes, and Arrowes, and Slings. They were excellent Archers, and had Bowes well nigh three Cubits, Arrowes more than two Cubits long. When they shot, they drew the string applying their hand somewhat toward the nether end of the Bowe, and letting their left foot forward. With their Arrowes they pierced both Curaces and Targets. The *Grecians* putting thongues to the middest of them, sent them backe againe at the enemies in stead of Darts. The *Cretans* were verie vse-full in these places; *Stratocles* the *Cretan* was their Commander. They quartered that day in the Villages, which lay vpon the Plaine neere the Riuer *Centrites*, the bredth whereof is 200 Foot, and this Riuer parteth *Armenia* and the *Carduchans* Countrey. Here the *Grecians* rested. The Riuer is distant from the *Carduchans* Mountaines about some six or seuen Furlongs. They quartered here with great pleasure both in regard of the plentie of all things, which they found, and also because they gladly remembred their trauell ouergone. For in seuen whole daies, in which they marched thorow the *Carduchans* Countrey, they were put to continuall fight, and suffered more distresse, than whatsoeuer the King and *Tissaphernes* could worke them. Being therefore freed from that danger they slept and tooke their rest with great content. Assoone, as it was day, they might discern beyond the Riuer Armed horse, that seemed readie to hinder their passage, and Foot-men ordered vpon the banks about the Horse to stop their entry into *Armenia*. These were *Armenians*, *Mygdonians*, and *Chaldeans* Mercenaries to *Orontes*, and *Artuchus*. The *Chaldeans* were said to be a free Nation and warlike. Their Armes were long wicker Targets and Speares. The banks, vpon which they were embattelled, were distant some three or foure Plethers from the Riuer; and no way ouer but one could

could be discerned, which led vp to the higher ground, and seemed to be made with hand. The *Grecians* sought to passe that way. But making triall, and finding the water to reach vp about their breasts, and the Riuer rough with many great, and slipperie stones, and perceiuing, that they could not hold their Armes in the Riuer, which by reason of the swiftnesse, and violence of the streame, would force them out of their hands, and in case a man caried them on his head, he should remaine naked against the enemies missiue weapons, they returned and encamped neere the Riuer. The place, where they rested the night before, they might easily see to be full of Armed *Carduchans*. It caused great melancholy amongst them, both because they saw the hard passage of the Riuer, and the enimie opposing against their passage, and also the *Carduchans* prest to fall vpon their Reare. Remaining therefore in great anguish of spirit, this day, and the night following, they spent in the place. *Xenophon* in the meane time dreamed, that he was bound in fetters, and that they broke and fell off of their owne accord, so that being loose, he was at libertie, to goe where he list. Early in the morning he went to *Cherisophus*, and told him, he hoped all should be well, and communicated his dreame with him, who was much delighted therewith; and as day appeared, all the Coronels assembled, and offered sacrifice, and at the verie first the sacrifice promised good successe; and the Coronels and Captaines departing to their quarters commanded the Souldiers to dine. Whilest *Xenophon* was at dinner, there came running vnto him two young men (for euerie man knew, they might haue free access vnto him both at dinner and supper, and that they might in sleepe awake him, and impart any thing, that should seeme to tend to the good of the march) and told him they chanced to be a gathering sticks for firing, and that amongst the Rocks, on the other side the Riuer, they espied an old man, and a woman, and young maids laying vp (as it were) bundles of Clothes tied together in a hollow Caue of the Rocke. Which when they saw, and conceiued withall, there was no danger in the passage, considering the enemies Horse could not by any meanes come there, they pulled off their Clothes, and taking their drawne Daggers in their hands, they entred into the Riuer in purpose to swim ouer, if they could not otherwise passe. But going on they found themselves ouer, before they had wet their priuities; so that taking with them the garments which were hidden they returned, and came safe to this side back againe. *Xenophon* hearing this, dranke a health, and commanded the Cup should be filled to the two young men, and to pray to the gods (who had reuealed the dreame and passage) to finish the remnant of all, that should appertaine to the good of the iourney. Assoone as the health was ended, he led the young men to *Cherisophus*, and declared vnto him the newes, which they brought. Who hearing these things, dranke also a health; after which commanding the Souldiers to trusse vp their baggage, and calling the Coronels together, they aduised about the best meanes of passage, and of repulping them, that opposed the Front, and of

Xenophons dreame.

The passage of a Riuer.

K

auoiding

Halfe a mile.

ἔθεντο τὰ ὅπλα.
ἐλάμβανεν τὰ
ὅπλα.τὸν λόχον ὁρ-
θῆς ἀγῆν.ὁ τῶν αἰ.
ὁ πιδορὺλ ἀκατ.Halfe thear-
my ouer.There were 4
Enomoties in e-
uery company.
πρὸς αἰσῶδες
ἑκαταρχίας
ἦ ἐνωμοτίας
ἐπὶ τεταρτάτῃ.

auoiding the danger of those, that were like to fall vpon the Reare. The resolution was, that *Cherisophus* should leade the Vant, & passe ouer first with halfe the Armie; the other halfe should remaine behinde with *Xenophon*, and the cariage, and vnarmed multitude, should be conueied in the midst. When these things were thus determined, they began to march. The young men led the way hauing the riuier on their left hand. The way which rended to the Foord, was about foure Furlongs in length. As they marched forward on one side, the enemies Hors-men embattelled marched against them on the other. After they were come to the Foord, and bancks of the riuier, they laid downe their armes; and first *Cherisophus* crowning himselfe, and stripping off his apparel, tooke vp his armes and commanded the rest to do the like; and directed the Captaines euery one to cast their companies into a file, & to march some on his right, some on his left hand. The Southsaier offered sacrifice at the riuers side; and the enemy, albeit they plied vs with bowes & slings, yet could they not reach ouer vnto vs. The sacrifice was faire, & the *Grecians* sang the *Pæan*, & gaue a shout. The women also shouted, for there were many whores in the campe. So *Cherisophus* passed ouer, and they with him. Then *Xenophon* taking to him the lightest of the Reare, ran back againe with all speed to the passage, which led to the Ascent of the *Armenian* Mountaines, making countenance, as if he meant to passe ouer there, & cut betwixt the horse, that guarded the banks, & the rest of their companions. But the enemy seeing *Cherisophus* his forces easily wade thorow the Riuer, and *Xenophon* with his Souldiers speedily returning backe, fearing to be shut in betwixt both, fled, as fast as they could, from the riuier to the way, that led vpward; & as soone as they came there, held on toward the mountaine. *Lucius*, that commanded the horse, & *Aschines*, that led the targetiers about *Cherisophus*, when they saw them so cowardly run, followed hard, and gaue chace. The Souldiers cried out to them not to giue ouer, but to ascend the mountaine together with the enemy. After *Cherisophus* had gained the passage, he followed not the horse, but presently vpon the bankes side led against the foot, that held the higher places; who being aboue on the higher ground, and seeing their horse flying, and the armed *Grecians* making head against them, forsooke also their ground, by the riuers side. When *Xenophon* perceiued now all things on the other side of the riuier, to be in good plight, he returned speedily to the forces, that were passing ouer. For the *Carduchans* were scene by this time to descend the mountaines, and to come into the Plaine, as though they purposed to charge the Reare. By this time had *Cherisophus* taken the higher ground, and *Lucius* following the chace with a few, won the carriages of the Reare of the enemy, and withall rich apparell, and much plate. The carriage and vnarmed multitude of the *Grecians* passed ouer the riuier with all diligence. And *Xenophon* turning toward the *Carduchans* opposed his armed against them; and directed his Captaines euery one to order his Companie into *Enomoties*, and to face to the left hand, and to lead vp and to ioyne the *Enomoties* together in front; and that the Cap-
taines

taines and *Enomotarchs* should make head against the *Carduchans*, the bringers vp be behinde next to the riuier; The *Carduchans*, when they saw the Reare left by the vnarmed multitude, and making shew but of few, singing certaine songs after their cuntry manner, fell on, and charged. In the meane time *Cherisophus*, hauing set his owne affaires in safetie, sent the Peltasts, and Slingers, and Archers ouer to *Xenophon*, willing them to doe, what he commanded. When *Xenophon* perceiued, they passed the riuier, hee dispatched a message to stay them, where they were, till they saw him and his troopes enter into the water, and then to meet him on both sides, and make as though they purposed to returne ouer againe, the Darters with their fingers in the thongs of their darts, the Archers with their arrowes nocked; yet should they not come much further, than they were in the riuier. And he gaue order to his owne people, that as soone, as they were within the reach of slings, and had beaten with their pikes vpon their targets, to sing the *Pæan*, and run forth against the enemy. And when the enemy was put to flight, and the trumpet sounded a charge from the riuier, the bringers vp, facing about to the pike, should leade, and the rest follow, and with all speed get the passage, euery one in the order he held, to the intent they hindered not one another; And added he would account him the best Souldier, that first could gaine the other banke. The *Carduchans* seeing but a few now left behinde (for many appointed for the Reare were shifted away, some being carefull of the carriage-beasts, some of the baggage, some of their whores) fell on, boldly, and began to sling and thoor. But when the *Grecians* singing the *Pæan* ran out against them, they forsooke their ground. For they were armed, as the mountaine fashion is, sufficiently to skip vp and downe, and run away, but not to come to hands in a stedfast fight. The trumpet now gaue the signe, which made the enemy flie the faster, and the *Grecians* facing about to the contrarie side hastened, all they could, to passe the riuier; which some of the enemies seeing, came running againe to the riuier, and hurt a few with their arrowes; but the most of them might be discerned to continue their flight, a good while after the *Grecians* had gained the other banke. Some of our people, that first charged the enemy, and being too valiant, & following on further, than at that time was fit, got ouer a good while after the other, that were with *Xenophon*; and some of them also were wounded. The *Grecians*, being all passed ouer about noone-tide, put themselves in order and marched thorow *Armenia* no lesse than foue *Parasangs*, the cuntry being all plaine, and arising sometimes in little hillocks. There was no village neere the riuier, by reason of the warres against the *Carduchans*. The first village, they came to, was both great, and had also in it a royall Palace for the Vice-roy of the cuntry; and the houses, for the most part were built with Turrets, and were stored with plentie of prouision. From thence they iourneied forward ten *Parasangs* in two encampings, till they came ouer the springs of the riuier *Tigris*. From thence they continued marching 15 *Parasangs* in 3 encampings, as
K 2 farre

When they ordered then companies into *Enomoties*, this was the manner, they doubled the front to the left hand, euery *Enomotarch* leading vp his *Enomotie*, & ioyning to the other in front; so that the battell was 25 deepe, and the *Enomotarchs* stood all in front. Light armed in the riuier to fauour the passage of the followers.

Armour for a stedfast fight.

τὴν ἀντιπρὸς ἐπὶ-
δάρτεσ. Facing about.

Following the chace too hotly

18 miles and 3 quarters in the afternoone.

The calamitie of warre.

18 miles and 3 quarters in a day.

As much a day.

Teleboas a riuer.

Teribazus gou-
uernour of Ar-
menia.Desireth par-
ley.Maketh truce
with the Greci-
ans.18 mile three
quarters a day.
A mile and a
quarter.Snow causeth
quartering in
villages.The plentiful-
nes of Armenia.Quartering
when an ene-
my is feared.Inconuenien-
ces of Snow.Disorder in
Souldiers pu-
nished.Scouts to dis-
couer.

farre as the riuer *Teleboas*, which is a faire riuer, but not large. About this riuer are many villages; and the place is called West *Armenia*. *Teribazus* the Kings fauourite was gouernour of this country; who, if he were present, no man else might set the King on horsebacke but he. This man came riding forth vnto vs, hauing hork-men about him, and sending an interpreter before signified, that he desired to parley with the Commanders: The Coronels resolu'd to heare, what he would say. So they came and met him, and being within hearing, they asked, what he would haue with them. He said his desire was to make truce with the *Grecians*, to the end, that neither he should wrong them, nor yet they burne the houses of the country, but onely take such victuall, as they needed in their march. The Coronels agreed hereunto, and so the truce was concluded. From thence they marched thorow the plaine country 15 *Parasangs* in 3 encampings. *Teribazus* followed with his forces, keeping aloofe about ten furlongs. They came to a Palace, which had many villages about it full of large prouision. While they encamped there, fell abundance of snow by night. It was therefore decreed in the morning, that the Companies and Coronells should quarter in the villages. For they neither saw enemy, and it seemed to be good and safe against the snow. Here they had all things fit for vse, namely sacrifice, wheat, old wine of excellent saueur, raysons, and all kinde of pulse. Some, that wandred from the Campe, reported they saw an army, and many fires kindled in the night. Therefore it seemed good to the Coronels not to suffer the souldiers to lie here & there dispersed, but to bring them together againe into one campe. So they came together again, and thought it best to lie in the field. Whilest they held this course, the snow fell so vehemently in the night, that both armes and men were couered with it. The carriage-beasts also seemed, as though they had bin fettered with the snow and had much ado to arise; and the Souldiers, that lay vpon the ground, vpon whom the Snow fell, and slid not off, became miserably distressed. Now when *Xenophon* arising vp vnarmed began to cleue wood, freight wayes one, and then another stood vp, and taking the hatchet from him, fell a cleauing likewise. Hereupon other in semblable manner arising kindled the fire, and anointed themselves. For they found much matter of oyntment there, which they vsed in stead of Oyle Oliue, as namely, Hogs greafe, Oyles of Sefamin, of bitter Almonds, and of Turpentine. There was found also sweet oyntments made of the same stuffe. After this it seemed best and most conuenient to quarter againe in villages vnder the rooffe of houses; and the Souldiers with cheerefull cries and great delight entred into the houses, and there tooke their prouision; onely those, that at the last dislodging out of houses had set them on fire, were punished with lying abroad in huts, and with such other ill lodging. From hence *Democrates* the *Temenite*, hauing Souldiers with him, was by night sent out to the mountaines, where the straglers reported they saw fires. For in former employments he was thought to bring certaine newes concerning things discoverable, either that they were, or were

were not. He going forth and returning said, he could descry no fires, but he brought in a prisoner hauing a *Persian* bowe, and a quiver, and a weapon called *Sagari*, such as the *Amazons* beate. This prisoner being demanded, what country man he was, said, he was a *Persian*, and came from *Teribazus* his Campe to seeke prouision. Being asked againe, how great the Armie was, and why assembled; he answered, that *Teribazus* was there in person with his owne Armie, and with the mercenary *Ghalibians* and *Taochans*, and was determined to set vpon the *Grecians* in the streights, that were on the mountaine tops, where there was but one way. The Coronels hearing these things found it good to assemble their troopes, and leauing sufficient guards for the Campe, and *Sophonatus* to be their commander, they forthwith marched on, taking the prisoner for their guide. They had now passed the mountaine, when the *Peltasts* aduancing first, and discouering the enemy, gaue a shout, and ran in vpon their Campe, not staying for the armed. The *Barbarians* hearing the noyse, forsooke the place wherein they were, and fled immediatly; notwithstanding some of them were slaine, and 20 horses taken; and withall the Tent of *Teribazus*, in which were beds with siluer feet, and plate, and some that said, they were Bakers, and Butlers. These things being so happily archieued, the Coronels held it best to returne with all speed vnto the Campe, lest perhaps some enterpise might be made vpon those, that were left behinde, and forthwith by trumpet giuing a signe of retreat, they dismarched, and came to the Campe the same day. The next day they thought it good to proceed with all celerity, before the enemies Armie could againe be rallied, and possesse the streights. Therefore they trussed vp their baggage, & hauing many guides, marched forth thorow deep Snow, and the same day getting ouer the tops, where *Teribazus* purposed to haue charged them, they set downe and encamped. From thence in three encampings in the wildernesse they reached to the riuer *Euphrates*, which they waded thorow not wetting themselves further than the Nauill. The fountaines of this riuer were reported not to be farre off. From thence they proceeded 15 *Parasangs* in three encampings through much Snow, which couered the plaine country. The third encamping was laborious and hard, the north wind blowing stiffe against vs, and scorching and befrozing the limbes of the Souldiers: whereupon one of the Soothsayers said, he would offer sacrifice to the wind to appease it, which being accordingly performed, there was no man, but held opinion, that the furie of the storme was much stilled and abated. The Snow was in this place a fathom deepe; so that many carriage beasts, and slaues were lost, and as good as 30 Souldiers. They maintained fires the whole night, by reason that there was great quantitie of wood in the place, where they encamped; and yet they, that were benighted found no wood; neither would those that first were quartered, giue the late commers access to the fires, vnlesse in recompence they imparted vnto them wheat, or some other victuall, such as they had. So was there amongst them a mutuall communication of their commodities.

A kinde of
weapon hea-
ded like a hat-
chet.
Teribazus his
falleneite.Preuention of
danger by see-
king the ene-
mie first.The enemies
defeated.Diligence in
auoiding dan-
ger.The *Grecians*
wade ouer *Euphrates*.
18 mile and
more a day.Miserable ido-
larry.Snow a fathom
deepe.

Oxe-hunger,
Boulimia.Three mile &
three quarters.Distresse of the
Grecian Souldi-
ers.Remedie a-
gainst Snow
for sight.
For the feet.The souldiers
vnable to
march.
Their danger.

dities. After the Snow was melted, there appeared great pits vpon the earth, where the fire was made, by which a man might easily iudge of the depth of the Snow. From thence they marched through Snow the whole next day, and many of the Souldiers were taken with the disease called *Boulimia*. *Xenophon* bringing vp the Reare, and railing those Souldiers, that lay vpon the ground, was ignorant what the disease meant, till one, who had experience, told him, that it was a plaine *Oxe-hunger*, and that they would immediately stand vp, if they had any thing to eat. Therefore going to the cariage-beasts, if he saw any drinke, or victuals, he distributed it either by himselfe, or by such as were able to runne about, to those that were pinched with hunger, and they had no looner eaten, but they stood vp, and marched. In this march *Cherisophus* about twilight came to a Village, where he found women and maids drawing, and carying water before a Fort. The Interpreter told them in the *Perſian* tongue, that they came to the Viceroy from the King. They answered, the Vice-roy was not there, but about a *Paraſang* from thence. *Cherisophus*, because it was late, entred with the water-bearers into the Fort vnto the Gouvernour, where he, and as many as the place was capable of, quartered that night. The rest of the Souldiers, that could not reach to the iournies end, lodged that night without meat or fire, so that some of them perished there. There were of the enemy, that gathered head, and followed the Reare, and taking the cariage-beasts, such as were vnable to trauell, fell foule together about the diuision of them. Some also of the Souldiers, whose sight was perished with the Snow, or had their toes rotted off with the cold, were left behinde. The remedy against the Snow for the eyes was the wearing some blacke thing before them, while they marched: for the feet, continuall mouing and resting no where; and in the night time putting off their shooes from their feet. As many as slept shod, the strings of their shooes were imprinted in their feet, and their shooes fast frozen to them. For there were some, that after they had worne out their old shooes, made themselves countrey shooes of raw hides newly drawne from the Oxe. Some therefore of the Souldiers were left behind inforced by such necessities; who casting their eyes vpon a peece of ground that was black, by reason the Snow was gone, they imagined it was melted there. And it was indeed melted by a Spring, that sent out vapours in a wooddy valley not farre from thence. Thither they turned, and said they would march no further. As soone as *Xenophon*, that had the Reare, perceived it, he prayed them, and vsed all art and endeouour to perswade them not to remaine behinde, alledging that the enemy being assembled in great number followed at their heeles. At the last, when he profited nothing, he began to be angry; they bid him kill them, if he would; for they were able to goe no further. Hereupon it was thought best, to put a feare, if it might be, into the enemy that followed. The darknesse was now come, and the enemy approached with much tumult and controuerſie amongst themselves about the prey they had taken. There they of the

the Reare, as many as were in health, rising vp, ranne vpon the enemy: the other, that were weary, shouting as intirely as they could, beat their pikes vpon their targets. Wherewith the enemy being affrighted cast himselfe into this Valley thorow the Snow, and thence forward was not so much as a word heard from any of them the whole night. *Xenophon* and the Souldiers with him marched on, and he told them that were weary, that he would send some to visit them the next day. They had not gone foure furlongs, but they hapned vpon other Souldiers, that rested in the way vpon the Snow, being also couered with it, and had put out no watch or guard. He made them stand vp, and they gaue him to vnderstand, that the Vaunt moued no further forward. Himselfe therefore passing by, and sending the ablest of the *Pelasts* to the Vaunt, willed them to bring word, what the impediment was. They brought word, that the whole Armie rested in the same manner. Therefore they that were about *Xenophon*, setting out such guards as they could, lodged that night without fire or supper. When it was toward day, *Xenophon* sent the youngest Souldiers about him vnto the sicke, commanding to raise them from the ground, and to compell them to march on. In the meane space were certaine men dispatched away by *Cherisophus*, to inquire how it was with the Reare; who saw them gladly, and deliuered the sicke men vnto them to be conueighed to the Campe. Themselues marched on, and after 20 furlongs march came to the Village, where *Cherisophus* quartered; and all being come together, they resolved they might safely quarter in the Villages thereabout. *Cherisophus* remained where he was. The other casting lots for the Villages they saw, euery one went and tooke possession of his owne. *Polycrates* an *Athenian* Captaine asked leaue to goe before, and taking with him the light-armed, and hasting to the Village, that fell to *Xenophons* lot, found within it all the inhabitants, and the *Comarch*, or chiefe Ruler of the Village, and 17 Colts, that were fed as a tribute for the King, and the daughter of the Gouvernour, who had beene married some nine daies before, whose husband was then absent hunting the Hare, and so came not to be taken in any of the Villages. The houses were vnder ground, and the doore of them like the mouth of a Well, but broad and large beneath. The entry for cariage beasts was digged, men ascended by ladders. In the houses were goats, sheepe, oxen, and birds with their young ones by them. All the beasts were fed within doores with fodder. There was besides wheat and barley, and pulse, and wine (in great vessels) made of barley. The barley filled the vessels to the very top, and there lay vpon it Reeds without knots, some great, some little. If a man were thirsty, these Reeds were to be taken into the mouth and sucked; and it was a strong drinke, if vnmingled with water, and very pleasant to them that were acquainted with it. *Xenophon* tooke the *Comarch* vnto him, and that night set him at his owne table, and willed him to be of good cheere, assuring him he should not lose his children, and that if he would shew himselfe a friend to the *Grecians* in leading and directing their Army, till they came to another Country;

The enemy
scared.Two mile and
a halfe.Lots for quar-
tering.Houses vnder
ground.Plenty of pro-
vision in them.Beere, or ra-
ther Ale.*Xenophons* cur-
tesie to the *Co-
march*.

Banqueting of
the Grecians.

οἱ ὑπάρχοντες.

Horse bred vp
for the King.The Persians
sacrificed hor-
ses to the
Sunne.
The horse of
Armenia.Remedie for
beasts that tra-
uell against the
Snow.The error of
Cherisophus
about the
Guide.

Countrie, he would at his departing fill his house with all things fit for vse. The *Comarch* promised he would, and in token of loue, shewed the place where wine was stored vnder the earth. So the Souldiers being thus lodged, passed the night in abundance of all things they could desire, hauing the *Comarch* in their custody, and his children before their eyes. The next day *Xenophon* taking the *Comarch* with him went to *Cherisophus*, and passing thorow the Villages in his way, visited them that were lodged there, and found them banqueting and merry in euery place; neither would they suffer him to depart, vntill they had set dinner before him; and in all houses the tables were furnished with lambe, kid, porke, veale, fowle, and with much bread, some made of wheat, some of barley. If any man of curtesie would drinke to another, he drew him to the vessell, to which he was to stoope, and drinke supping like an Oxe. They gaue the *Comarch* leaue to take what he list, yet tooke he nothing, vnlesse he espied by chance any of his kinsmen, whom hee caried away with him. When they came to *Cherisophus*, they found all the Souldiers in the houses crowned with hay garlands, and *Armenian* boyes clad in *Barbarian* apparell waiting vpon them; to whom, when they would haue any thing done, they were faine to make signes, as to deafe men. After *Cherisophus* and *Xenophon* had bene merry together, they asked the *Comarch* by an Interpreter, what the Countrie was. He answered it was *Armenia*. Againe they asked him, for whom those horses were bred and kept; he answered, they were the Kings tribute. The next Countrie, he said, was the *Chalybians* countrie, and shewed them the way that led thither. After this *Xenophon* brought him home to his house, and the old horse (which he had taken) he gaue him to be reserved for a sacrifice. For he heard, that he was consecrated to the Sunne, and feared he would die, because he fainted in the iourney. He himselfe tooke to him one of the Colts, and distributed the rest to the other Coronels and Captaines. The horse of that Countrie are lesse than the *Persian* horse, but much more deedy, and full of metall. The *Comarch* also taught them, as often as their horse or cariage-beasts were to be driuen thorow the Snow, to binde little bags about their feet; for without these bags, they fell vp to the belly in Snow. When the eight day was come, *Xenophon* deliuered the *Comarch* to *Cherisophus* to be their guide, but left all his household to him, except only one of his sonnes, who was lately come to mans estate. Him he deliuered to *Episthenes* the *Amphipolitan* to be kept vpon condition, that if he guided the Armie well, he might take his sonne home with him at his returne. Besides they conueighed into his house as many things as they could, and so rising with their whole Campe, they marched forward. The *Comarch* guided them vnbound, because of the Snow: and now they were in the third encamping, when *Cherisophus* waxed angry with the Guide, because he conducted them to no Villages. He answered, that there were none there about. *Cherisophus* beat him, but bound him not, by reason whereof he shifted away by night, leauing his sonne behinde him. This was the only difference

difference and distaste betwixt *Cherisophus* and *Xenophon* during this whole iourney. For the Guide was ill intreated, and yet not looked vnto, nor made fast. *Episthenes* was in loue with the boy, and carrying him home into *Greece*, found him alwaies after exceeding faithfull and trustie. After this they marched forward seuen encampings; siue *Parasangs* euery day, euen as farre as the riuer *Phasis*, which is a plether broad. From thence they marched 10 *Parasangs* in two encampings. The *Chalybians*, *Taochans*, and *Phasians* shewed themselves on the top of a hill, from whence the descent into the Plaine lay. *Cherisophus* after he perceiued the enemy on the height of the hill, made Alt about thirte furlongs off, being loth to approach them with his army led in a wing; & he gaue the word, that the following Companies should sleepe vp by the first, to the end the army might be torme into a *Phalange*, or broad fronted battell. When the Reare was come vp, immediately he called a Court of Coronels and Captaines; and spake thus: I he enemy, as you see, hath taken the top of the mountaine; It is time for vs to aduise, how we shall most commodiously come to fight with them. Mine opinion is, therefore, that we first command the Souldiers to dine, and then in the meane space consult, whether it be best to passe ouer the mountaine to day or to morrow. And mine opinion is, said *Cleonor*, that after dinner we presently arme, and with all celeritie goe against them. For if we linger this day, the enemy, that beholds vs now, will wax bolder, and other animated with their boldnesse, will ioine vnto them. After him *Xenophon* spake, and said: I conceiue thus; that if we must needs fight, we are to prepare our selues to fight with the greatest aduantage, we are able. But if we desire to passe the hill with least trouble, we ought to consider, how to receiue fewest wounds, and lose fewest men. The hill, which we see, is more than 60 furlongs in length, and men no where appeare to hinder vs, but onely vpon the way, of our march. It is better therefore to endeavour priuily, to steale, if we can, and to lay hold of, and, as it were, to snatch away by preuention a peece of the void mountaine, than to fight both against a strong place, and against men ready, and resolu'd to trie their fortune. For it is much more easie to mount a steepe passage without fight, than to trauerse a Plaine beset on euery side with enemies; and a man not fighting shall by night better discern any thing before his feet, than by day, if he be in fight; and rough places are more euen to his feet, that fighteth not, than plaine ground to him, whose head is in danger. And it seemeth to me not impossible to steale some part or other of the hill, in regard, that we haue both the benefit of the night not to be seene, and may vse such circuit in ascending, that the enemy shall neuer perceiue vs; and if we make a shew, as though we meant to passe the way, we are in, we shall finde the rest of the mountaine more cleere and void of resistance, because it is likely, he will make good the place, which he holdeth, with all his forces. But what doe I talke of theft before you *Cherisophus*. For I heare that you *Lacedemonians*, as many of you, as are of the equalls, meditate from

L

your

18 mile and
more a day.
100 foot.
18 mile and
more a day.Three mile and
three quarters.
ὅμι κείνος ἀγῶν.
τοῦ λόγῳ.
ὡς παλαιῶν.
In a march how
to bring the
troopes to a
Phalange.
A counsell how
to dislodge the
enemy from a
mountaine.7 miles and
more.A double dis-
aduantage.A shew differ-
ent from our
intent.

ὅμι ἡ ἐπιτομή.

your childhood how to steale; & that it is no shame, but a praise-worthy thing to steale such things, as the law forbiddeth not to steale; & to the intent, you steale and conceale your theft with more cunning, the law ordaineth, that if you be taken with the manner, you shall be well whipped for your paines. Now therefore it is a fit time for you to shew your education, and to beware that in stealing the mountaine we be not taken with the manner, lest we be beaten with many stripes. *Cherisophus* replied: And I likewise heare, that you *Athenians* steale the riches of your State most artificially, albeit it be no small danger for him that stealeth; and that the best of you, if the best desire to beare rule in the State, are guilty of this crime. So that it is good time for you also to shew your education. I, quoth *Xenophon*, am ready after we haue supped, to goe with the Reare, and seize vpon the top of the mountaine; Guides I am prouided of. For our light-armed tooke some of the theeuers that followed to surprize vs; and I heare, that the mountaine is not vnpassable, but is fed with Goats and Neat. So that if we take any part thereof, we shall finde also a way for our cariage-beasts; and I hope, the enemy after we haue once gained the height, and are in euen ground with them, will no longer maintaine the place, the rather because they haue no great minde to descend now vnto vs into the Plaine. Yea, but what need you goe, quoth *Cherisophus*, and leaue the Reare. Rather, if no man be willing to goe of himselfe, let vs make choice of some one or other. Hereupon *Aristonymus* the *Metbydrian* came vp, and presented himselfe with armed foot, and *Aristeus* the *Chian* with light-armed, and *Nicomachus* the *Oetean* likewise with light-armed; and the signe was agreed vpon, namely, to make fires, after the top was taken. All things being thus concluded, they dined. Then *Cherisophus* led the Army forward toward the enemy some 10 furlongs, as though he had a purpose to continue his march that way. When they had supped, and it was night, those that were appointed proceeded on, and tooke the top of the mountaine; the rest of the Armie remained in the place, where they were. The enemy perceiuing that the top of the mountaine was taken, watched and made fires all the night. By breake of day *Cherisophus* offered sacrifice, and led the Armie in the way, they marched before, and they, that had wonne the hill, and the height thereof, made head against the enemy, who in greatest number remained vpon the ordinarie way that lay toward the top, but a part of them aduanced against the *Grecians*, that had gained the height, who came to hands, before the whole Armie ioyned; in which conflict the *Grecians* had the better, and followed the chace vpon the enemy. In this meane time the *Peltasts* of the *Grecians* that were in the Plaine, ran vp the hill to their companions, that had the victory. *Cherisophus* with the armed followed as fast as he could, without disordering their troupes. The enemy, that lay vpon the way, when they saw their companions beaten on the height of the hill, abandoned the place, and fled. Many of them were slaine: and they left behinde many wicker targets, which the *Grecians* cutting in peeces with their swords made for euer after vnprofitable, and of no vse. When they

The signe.

A mile and a quarter.

The *Grecians* beat the enemy.

Haste without disorder.

they came to the top of the mountaine, they offered sacrifice, and erecting a *Trophy* descended into the Plaine, and into Villages stored with plenty of all things. After this they marched toward the *Taochans*, 30 *Parasangs* in five encampings. Their victuals here began to wax scant, because the *Taochans* inhabited strong holds, into which they had conueighed all their vsfull prouision: they crept into a Hold, that had neither city, nor house in it, and in it men, and women, and many beasts were gathered together. *Cherisophus* presently marched against it, and so disposed his troupes, that when the first was weary, another streight succeeded, and then another. For they could not with their whole forces beset the place round, because it was prerrupt in all the circuit. When *Xenophon* came vp with the Reare both *Peltasts* and armed, *Cherisophus* told him he was welcome. For the place, said he, must needs be forced, because henceforth we shall haue no prouision for the Armie, if we omit this Hold. Hereupon they aduised in common; and when *Xenophon* asked what impediment there was, why it might not be entred, *Cherisophus* answered: There is no other way, but this one, that you see; and when any man proffereth to ascend, they tumble downe stones from the high rocke hanging ouer, and vpon whomsoever the stones light, thus is hee serued; and withall shewed many Souldiers that had their legs and sides crushed, and broken a peeces. But when the stones are spent, quoth *Xenophon*, what other impediment shall we haue? For we see but these few oppose against vs, and of them but two or three armed men. And the space, which is so dangerous, is not aboue three halfe *Plethers*; and thereof about a *Plether* is beset with a thicket of great Pine trees, after which the Souldiers standing, what hurt can they haue, either from stones throwne, or tumbled downe? There remaineth then but halfe a *Plether*, which must be passed running in the time, whilst the stones cease. But, quoth *Cherisophus*, we can no sooner moue toward the thicket, but the stones come rowling downe in abundance. So should it be, quoth *Xenophon*; for so they will the sooner be spent. But let vs, if we can, halte thither, from whence least way remaines afterward to run, and from whence, if we be disposed, we may retire with most ease. Then *Cherisophus* and *Xenophon*, and *Callimachus* the *Parrhasian* Captaine (for he had the leading of the Capitaines of the Reare that day) began to aduance. The rest of the Capitaines remained in safetie in the place where they were. Then about 70 Souldiers got to the trees, not thronging together but one by one, each of them heedfull to auoid the danger, as he could. *Agasias* the *Stymphalian*, and *Aristonymus* the *Metbydrian*, who were also Capitaines in the Reare, and some other stood behinde the trees; for it was not safe for more than a Company to shelter themselues there. Here *Callimachus* put in practise a deuice of his owne. Hee ranne two or three steps from the tree, behinde which hee stood, and when the stones came rowling downe, hee quickly retired. Vpon euery stepping forth of his, were spent more than ten waggons of stones. When *Agasias* saw

A *Trophy* is a monument of victorie.

22 mile and a halfe a day.

The order of an assault.

"

"

"

"

"

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"

150 foot.

100 foot.

"

50 foot.

Λοχαγδοι.

Turnes of Capitaines in marching.

A 100 men.

saw, what *Callimachus* did, and that it was in the sight of the army, fearing he would be the first, that should enter the hold, neither signifying any thing to *Aristonymus*, that stood next him, nor yet to *Eurylochus* the *Lusian* (who were both his Companions) nor to any other, he put forward, and outwent all the rest. *Callimachus* seeing him passe by caught hold of the circumference of his Target. In the meane time *Aristonymus* the *Methydrian*, and *Eurylochus* the *Lucian* came by (for all these were at contention and strife amongst themselves, which of them should be esteemed the most valiant) & in this emulation they entred the place. No sooner had one of them entred, but the rumbling downe of stones was staid. A grievous spectacle was thence forth there to be beheld. The women, after they had cast downe their children from the Rocks, threw themselves after; and so did the men. There also *Aeneas* the *Stymphalian* Captaine seeing one, that had on a faire garment, running to cast himselfe downe, laid hold vpon him to saue him. But the other drawing him on, both tumbled headlong downe together, and immediately died of the fall. In this place were few men, but multitudes of Oxen, Asses, and Sheepe taken. From thence they marched thorow the *Chalybians* Countrey 50 *Parasangs* in seven encampings. That Nation was the valiantest of all, that the *Grecians* passed thorow, and such as durst come to handie blowes with them. They bore Linen Curaces, that reached downe to their bellies, and in stead of wings had thicke ropes wound and fastened together. They had besides Greaves and Head-peeces, and on their Girdle a short Sword like a *Lacedemonian* Cimiterie, wherewith they slay them, whom they overcome; and cutting off their heads returne to their friends singing and dancing, especially if it be in the enemies sight. They haue furthermore a Pike of about fiftene Cubits long, armed at one end with a head of Yron. They remained in Townes, and when the *Grecians* passed by, they followed them still skirmishing. Afterward they remoued into strong places, and conueighed their prouision thither. So that the *Grecians* could get nothing there, but were faine to feed vpon the cariage-beasts, which they tooke from the *Tacchans*. From hence they departed to the Riuer *Harpasus*, a Riuer of foure *Plethers* bredth; and then thorow the *Scythimians* Countrey 20 *Parasangs* in foure encampings. It was a plaine Countrey, and in it they found villages, in which they remained three daies making prouision of Corne. From thence they proceeded in foure encampings 20 *Parasangs*, and came to a great, wealthy, and well inhabited Citie named *Gymnias*. The Lieutenant of the Countrey sent the *Grecians* a guide to leade them thorow the enemies Countrey. Himselfe comming vnto them told them, that he in person would within fise daies bring them to a place, from whence they should see the Sea; if not, he refused not to be put to death. When he was come into his enemies Countrey, he willed them to burne and destroy the Land. Whereby appeared, that no good affection, he bare them, but the losse of the enemy was the only cause, he came vnto the *Grecians*. The fifth day they came to the holy Mountaine,

An honest and worthy emulation.

28 mile and more the day. The *Chalybians*. Their valour. Their armes.

ὄσον εὐνήλω λακωνικῶ.

ὡς δὲ λογίζεσθαι.

Harpasus a riuer. 400 foot. 18 mile and more a day. The *Scythimians*.

28 mile & more a day. *Gymnias* a citie.

Mountaine, which was called *Thebes*. Assoone as they first came to the top of the Mountaine and saw the Sea, there was much shouting and hollowing. *Xenophon* and the Reare hearing it; imagined that some enemy gaue vpon the Vant. For there were, that followed them out of the Countrey, which they had fired, and of them some were taken, others slaine, by the Reare, which laid an ambush for them, and they got besides 20 wicker Targets couered with raw and hairie hides of Oxen. When the cry grew more and more, and those, that came after, still ran with all speed to the other, that cried in the Vant, and as more trooped together, the cry the more increased; *Xenophon* conceiued it was not without great cause. Therefore getting to horse-backe, and taking with him *Lucius* and the Horse, he speeded on to succour. They heard straight way the voices of Souldiers comforting one another, & crying, The Sea, the Sea; whereupon they ran all forward, both they, that came in the Reare, and also the cariage-beasts, and Horses. When all were come to the top of the Mountaine, they fell to embracing both of one another, and also of the Coronels and Captaines, and that not without teares, and presently, it is not knowne by whose commandement, the Souldiers carried together stones, and raised vp a great heape, and laid thereon a number of Targets couered with raw Oxe hides, and of stauces and of wicker targets taken from the enemy. The guide himselfe cut asunder the wicker targets, & perswaded the rest to do the like. After this the *Grecians* sent away their guide hauing giuen him a Horse, a siluer bowle, a *Persian* sute of apparell, & 10 *Daricks*. About all other things he desired the rings, they wore, & had a great many giuen him by the Souldiers. And so shewing them a village, wherein they might lodge, and the way, that led to the *Macrons*, assoone as the euening approched he departed, holding on his journey by night. From thence the *Grecians* marched forward thorow the *Macrons* Countrey 10 *Parasangs* in three encampings. The next day they came as far, as the riuer, that diuideth the territories of the *Macrons*, & of the *Scythimians*; on their right hand they had a very steep mountaine hard to ascend, on their left another riuer, into which the riuer, that diuideth the countries, did run; and thorow that riuer they must needs passe. It was beset with thick trees, albeit not standing very closely together. These trees the *Grecians* cut down, when they came to the riuer side, making as great diligence, as they could, to rid themselves out of the Countrey. The *Macrons* armed with wicker targets, with pikes and coats made of haire, stood imbattelled on the aduerse side of the riuer, encouraging one another, and casting stones into the riuer, which notwithstanding reached not the *Grecians*, nor hurt any man. There one of the targetiers came to *Xenophon*, and told him, that he had serued as a slaue in *Athens*, & added, that he seemed to know the language of the enemy, & I thinke, quoth he, that this is mine own country; and, if you thinke good, I would faine speake with them. You may do it freely, quoth *Xenophon*, if you list; and know of them first, what people they are. They answered, they were *Macrons*. Aske them againe, quoth he, why they oppose against vs in armes, & desire to be our enemies.

Thebes the holy Mount. The *Grecians* see the Sea.

6. li. - 10. s.

28 mile & more a day.

Passing ouer a riuer.

Macrons.

Assurance of a
Truce.The Colchan
Mountaines.The manner of
ascending a
mountaine.
Companies
drawne into
one File
apeece.The distance
betwixt com-
pany and com-
pany.
Ouer-fronting
the enemye.

enemies. They answered, because you go about to invade our country. The Coronels willed the interpreter to say, they came not to offer wrong, but having made war against the king, they returned into Greece, and would faine come to the Sea. The *Macrons* asked the *Grecians* againe, whether they would give assurance of that, they said; Who answered, they were readie to give, & take assurance. Hereupon the *Macrons* gave to the *Grecians* a Barbarian speare, and the *Grecians* a Grecian speare to them. For they said, that this was the manner of assurance amongst them. But both parties called the gods to witnesse. After assurance given the *Macrons* helped the *Grecians* to cut down trees, & leuelled the way to further our passage, & came and conversed with the *Grecians* furnishing out such a market, as they were able, and led them forward three daies journey, till they had set them vpon the *Colchan* mountaines. There was in that countrey a high Mountaine, but yet passable, vpon which the *Colchans* had ranged themselves in battell. At the first the *Grecians* ordered their troops against them in a *Phalange*, as if they purposed to invade the Mountaine in that forme. *Xenophon* aduised them, that laying aside the forme of a *Phalange*, the best course would be to put themselves into single Companies drawne out in File. For a *Phalange*, said he, will soone be broken by reason of the inequality of way, which in some part of the Mountaine will be easie enough, in other parts hard to ascend. And it will quickly discourage the Souldiers, to see the *Phalange* disordered, in which they march. Furthermore if we aduance in a large Front, the enemye, that exceedeth vs in number, will ouer-front vs, and vse his multitude to most aduantage; if in a narrow Front, it will be no maruell to see our *Phalange* cut in peeces with the number of misseue weapons and with multitude of men, that will fall vpon it; which comming to passe in any part, the whole *Phalange* will be distressed. Therefore, as I said, I hold it best to order our selues in companies stretched out in file or depth, euery companie hauing such distance from other, that the out-most companies may ouer-front, and be without the points of the enemies wings. So shall we both gain the aduantage of ouer-fronting their army, & marching on the companies being in file, our best men shall first give on vpon the enemye. And let euery companie make choise of the fittest way for ascent. Now for the spaces betwixt each companie it will not be easie for the enemye to enter them, the companies flanking euery space, nor yet to cut off a companie aduancing in such depth. And if any companie chance to be distressed, the next companie is to succour it. And in case any one of the companies attaine the top of the Hill, assure your selues no enemye will keepe his ground. The aduice was approved by all, and they drew their companies euery one into a File. *Xenophon* going from the right wing to the left, said to the Souldiers; These, o Souldiers, whom you see, are the only hindrance of our passage thither, whither we haste with so great desire. If it be possible, we must deuoure them raw. When euery man was in his place, and euery companie in File, the companies of the armed amounted to about 80 in number, and euery companie contained well-

well-neere 100 men. The Targetiers and Archers were diuided into three parts. One part marched without the left Wing, another without the right, the third in the midst. Then the Coronels commanded the Souldiers to pray. When they had praied, they sang the *Pæan*, and so aduanced forward; and the enemye made head against them. *Cerberisphus*, and *Xenophon*, and the Targetiers with them, being without the points of the enemies battell marched on. The enemye perceiuing it, sought to meet them, and some of them drawing to the right, some to the left hand, they rent their *Phalange* asunder, and left much void space in the midst. When the *Arcadian Pelasts*, whose Captaine *Æschines* the *Acarnan* was, saw them distracted, and seuered, they imagined they fled, and ran on with as much speed, as they could. They were the first, that gained the Mountaine. The armed *Arcadians* commanded by *Cleanor* the *Orchomenian* followed at their heeles. The enemye stood firme in no place, after they saw them come running on, but fled, some one way, some another. So the *Grecians* ascending the Mountaine quartered in many Villages replenished with all things necessarie. In other things there was no cause of maruell, only there were many Bee-hiues, the Hony-combes whereof whoeuer eat, they became euery man mad, and scoured vpward and downward, and none was able to stand vpon their feet. They that eat but a little were like drunken, that eat much like mad, and some like dead men; and there lay so many vpon the ground, that a man would haue thought an ouerthrow had been receiued from an enemye: which caused much discouragement amongst the Troopes. The next day there was no man found dead, and they came to their right sense about the same houre, they fel into their malady. The third & fourth day after they arose, as if they had receiued some medicine. From thence they marched seuen *Parasangs* in two encampings, & came to the sea side to *Trapezond* a Grecian city well inhabited, which is situate vpon the *Euxine* Sea, being a Colonie of the *Sinopeans* planted in the *Colchan* Countrey. They remained about 30 dayes in the *Colchan* countrey spoiling & preying it. The *Trapezuntines* exhibited a Market to the Campe, and gave the *Grecians* gifts of hospitalitie, viz. Oxen, Meale, and Wine, entertaining them kindly. They transacted likewise for the next neighbour *Colchans*, especially for those, that inhabited the Plaine, from whom also were sent gifts of hospitalitie, which were for the most part Oxen. Here the Armie prepared the sacrifice, which they had vowed (for a sufficient number of Oxen was sent vnto them) to *Iupiter* the Saniour, & to *Hercules*, who had so well guided and protected them in their whole journey. They praied likewise to other gods. Besides they ordeined Games of exercise in the Mountaine, where they encamped, & chose *Dracontius* the *Lacedemonian* (who being yet a boy fled his Countrey for killing another boy with the stroke of a Cemetery against his will) to order the running, and to be president of the Games. When the sacrifice was ended, they gave the beasts skins to *Dracontius*, & willed him to leade to the place which he had appointed for the race. He shewed them the place, where they stood, saying:

8000 Armed.
Ordering of
the light-
armed.The *Grecians*
win the Hill.

Strange hony.

Superstitious,
but yet zealous
mindes.αἰῶνα γολυμῶν.
Games.

T his

A race of a furlong.
A race of 24 furlongs, or three mile : some say of 12 furlongs.

Παιδιον,
consisting of
1. *Pugilatio.*
2. *Cu. sus.*
3. *Salus.*
4. *Dijcus.*
5. *Lucia.*

This Hill is the fittest place to run in, chuse what part thereof you will. They replied: Who can wrestle in so rough and wooddie a ground? The more, quoth he, will be his paine, that taketh the fall. The boies, that were prisoners, did for the most part run the Furlong. More than 60 *Cretans*, ran the race called *Dolichon*. Other wrestled, and fought with fists, and used the *Quinquertian* exercise; so that it was a pleasant sight to behold them. For many put themselves into the Exercise, and much emulation arose by reason their companions looked on. The horses also ran, and they were appointed to gallop downe the steepe hill to the Sea with high speed, and againe to returne vp to the alter. So many of them tumbled from the height downward one vpon another; and when they were to returne vpward, they had much adoe, though neuer so leisurely, to raise themselves against the huge steepnesse of the place. Here you might heare great cries, laughter, and encouragements of one to another.

Finis Libri Quarti.



THE FIFTH BOOKE OF THE HISTORIE OF

XENOPHON, TOUCHING THE
Ascent of CYRVS the younger, out
of Asia the Lesse, into the Higher
COUNTRIES.



It is formerly discoursed, what the *Grecians* did in ascending with *Cyrus* vp to the higher Countries, and in their returne as farre as the *Euxine* Sea, and how they came downe to *Trapezond* a *Grecian* Citie, and sacrificed (according to their Vowes made for their safe returne) as soone as they came to a Countrey that was friend. Afterward meeting together, they consulted about the remnant of their march homeward.

Antileon the *Thurian* was the first that stood vp, and he spake in this manner: I, my companions, haue hitherto wearied my selfe in trussing vp baggage, in going and running and bearing Armes, and keeping order in marching, in guarding, and in fighting. Now, seeing we are come to the Sea, my desire is, laying these travels aside, to saile forth the remnant of my journey, and as *Vlysses* did, lying downe, and stretching my lims out at full length, to sleepe till we come into *Greece*. The Souldiers hearing his words gaue an applause, as if he had spoken well; and afterwards another, and almost all, that were present, repeated the same words in generall. Then *Cherisophus* stood vp and said: *Anaxibius*, that hath the command of the Naue, is my very good friend. Wherefore, if you send me to him, I shall returne, as I conceiue, with Gallies and Ships sufficient for your transportation; your selues, since you are resolved to goe by Sea, stay here, till you heare of me againe. I will returne as soone as I can. The Souldiers hearing this, were exceeding ioyfull, and decreed that he should presently take his journey. After him *Xenophon* stood vp, and spoke to this effect: *Cherisophus* is sent away, and we must

M

remaine

cc
cc
cc
cc
cc

Their resolution to goe by Sea.

The *Lacedaemonian* Admirall.

cc
cc
cc
cc
cc

Safe forraging. " remaine here till he returneth. I will therefore aduise with you, what
 " will be our best course, till he returnes. For neither is our market plen-
 " tiffull enough, nor yet haue we wherewith to buy, excepting only a few,
 " and the Countrey is enemy, and we in danger to lose many Souldiers, if
 " to bring in prouision, we straggle out of our Campe carelesly, and with-
 " out guard. Therefore mine opinion is, that it will be expedient for vs
 " to make incursions into the Countrey, to the end to furnish our selues
 " with things needfull, but not to wander abroad negligently, lest you
 " come in danger; and these things I would haue left vnto our care. It was
 " so decreed. You may, if you please, heare besides, what I am further
 " to say: Some of you, no doubt, will goe out to bring in prey. I hold it
 " therefore best, that whosoever is disposed to issue forth, signifie so much
 " vnto vs, and withall whither he purposeth to goe, that we may see both
 " how many issue out, and how many remaine at home, & also make our
 " selues readie for all euent, and that if it be needfull to giue aide, we may
 " know, whither to addresse our selues. And that if any, that haue no
 " great experience, vndertake an enterprise, the matter be referred to our
 " deliberation, to the end we may enquire, of what power and strength
 " they are, against whom the enterprise is intended. These things also
 " were so decreed. I pray thinke vpon this likewise, quoth he, that because
 " we haue taken away the enemies riches, they also will do, what they can,
 " to prey vpon vs, and vpon any fit occasion lie in wait, and seeke to en-
 " trap vs; I thinke it therefore meet to put out Sentinells round about our
 " Campe. For if we diuide our selues into small parties, and so guard and
 " scout, it will not be so easie for them to hunt vs. Furthermore, conside-
 " ration must be had of this: If we were assured, that *Cherisophon* would
 " returne, bringing sufficient shipping with him, it would be needlesse to
 " speake that, which I am about to speake; but seeing his returne is un-
 " certaine, I am of opinion, that we ought here also to make prouision of
 " shipping. For if he returne, and there chance here to be more ships, than
 " we need, we shall saile away with greater ease. But if he bring none, then
 " may we vse them, which we haue provided here. For I see ships often
 " times passing by. If then requesting long ships of the *Trapezuntines*, we
 " take these passengers, and keepe them, laying aside their Rutchers, till the
 " number arise great enough for our purpose, it may be, we shall not faile
 " of such a transportation, as we desire. These things were also decreed.
 " You may be pleased also to consider, whether it be not reason vpon
 " common cost to maintaine such, as we shall finde in the ships, so long, as
 " they shall remaine here through our occasion, and to giue them wages,
 " that as they profit vs, so also they may profit themselves by vs. This
 " was in like manner decreed. I conceine further, quoth he, if shipping
 " sufficient faile, it will be expedient for vs, to command the Cities of the
 " Sea-coast to make the wayes, by which we are to passe, plaine and euery,
 " (for they are reported to be rough, and hard to march in) and I make no
 " question, but they will easily assent, both because they are in feare, as also
 " because they would gladly be rid of vs. Here the Souldiers cried out,
 " that

Reparation of
Wayes.

that there was no cause to speake of preparing the wayes. *Xenophon* mar-
 king their indiscretion, made no decree hereof, but perswaded the neigh-
 bour Cities to make the passages readie, alledging they would sooner be
 gone, if the waies were prepared. They had also a ship of fiftie owers
 from the *Trapezuntians*, ouer which they appointed Captaine *Dexippus*,
 who dwelt not farre from *Lacedemon*. He not much regarding the pro-
 uision of shipping, sailed away, and fled out of *Pontus* with the ship. Af-
 terward, notwithstanding he suffered iust punishment, being put to
 death by *Nicander* the *Lacedemonian*, for seeking to raise a commotion in
Thrace against *Seuthes*. They had besides a ship of thirtie owers ouer
 which they made Captaine *Polycrates* the *Athenian*. Who when he tooke
 any ships, brought them to the Campe, where the merchandise was ta-
 ken out, and keepers set to preserue it safe for the owners. The ships
 themselves were retained for the iourney. Whilest these things were do-
 ing, the *Grecians* went abroad to seeke the prey of the Countrey, and
 some of them sped, other some missed of their purpose. *Cleometus* lea-
 ding forth his owne and another Company to a place rough and dange-
 rous, was slaine himselfe, and many other with him. When there was
 no more prouision to be got within such a distance, as that the Souldiers
 going out a foraging, might returne to the Campe the same day, *Xeno-
 phon* taking guides from the *Trapezuntians*, led out halfe the army, into
 the Countrey of the *Drylans*, the other halfe he left to guard the Campe.
 For the *Colchians*, being driuen from their owne houses, were many in
 number, and sat downe on the top of the hills. The *Trapezuntians* gui-
 ded them not to the place, where prouision might easily be made, be-
 cause that part of the Countrey was their friends; but against the *Drylans*,
 from whom they had suffered hostility, against a mountainous countrey,
 & hard to passe thorow, the inhabitants, whereof are accounted the most
 warlike people of all, that liue in *Pontus*. After the *Grecians* were come
 into the high countrey, the *Drylans* setting afire all the holds, that see-
 med easie to be forced, went their waies; neither was any thing found in
 the country, but a hog, or an oxe, or some such other cattel as escaped the
 fire. There was a Fort, that was called their mother Citie, or *Metropolis*,
 whither they all fled. Round about it was a hollow bottom strongly
 deepe, and the accesse to the Fort was hard. The *Pelissits* speeding on
 some fife or six furlongs before the armed, passing the bottome, and
 espying there many sheepe and other riches, went on against the Fort,
 and were seconded by many Speare-men, that followed to make prou-
 sion for the Campe; So that the number of those that passed ouer the
 bottome, was more, than two thousand men. When they could not
 force the place (for there was a deepe ditch cast about it, and sharpe stakes
 fixed on the ascent of the rampier, and many wooden Towers raised) they
 began to make their retreat, and the enemy fell out vpon them. Now
 when they could not well retire (for the descent from the Fort to
 the bottome, was capable of no more than of one man at once) they
 sent to *Xenophon*, who led the Targetiers. The messenger said, that the

Dexippus a run-
away.

Miscarrying of
carrelle for-
ragers.

The *Drylans*.

A Fort of the
Drylans.

Drylans.

Rashnesse to
aduaunce fur-
ther than a
man may well
come off.

Ἰδὼν τὰ ὄπλα.

Commandment is nothing without execution.

ἀόγῳ.

ἔχοντες τὴν μάχην.

Fort was replenished with much riches, but they could neither take it, by reason of the strength thereof, nor yet come off without danger, because the enemy was fallen out, and fought with them, and the place, thorow which they were to come off, was narrow. *Xenophon*, when he heard this, leading on to the brinke of the hollow bottome, commanded the armed to lay downe their armes: Himselfe passing out with the Captaines, aduised, whether it were better to bring off those, that were already in the Fort, or to passe ouer the armed also, which he led, to try if the Fort might be won: For the Captaines held, that the retreat could not be made without the losse of many, and that the Fort was not impregnable; to whose opinion *Xenophon* assented, the rather because of the sacrifice. For the soothsayers signified, that they must vndergoe a fight, but the issue would be good, and such as was to be desired. Therefore he sent backe the Captaines to bring ouer the armed; himselfe remained behinde, and gathering together the *Peltasts* suffered none to send a misseue weapon at the enemy. After the armed were come vp, hee willed the Captaines to order their Companies, euery one, as they thought fittest for fight. For the Captaines stood neere together, betwixt whom there was alwaies an emulation about manhood and seruice. The Captaines did accordingly; and *Xenophon* gaue commandement to all the *Peltasts* to goe with their fingers inserted into the thongs of their darts, and the Archers with their arrowes knocked, and the light-armed, with their leather bags full of stones; that they might be readie when a signe was given; and he chose out fit men to see these things executed. When all were in readinesse, and the Captaines, and Lieutenants, and they, that accounted themselves nothing inferiour to them, had taken their places, and looked one vpon another (for it was a gallant fight, to behold the army standing so imbattelled in the field) they began the *Pan*, the trumpet sounded, the army gaue a shout, and the armed ran on with all speed. Now the misseue weapons began to flie at all hands, darts, arrowes, bullets and stones out of slings, and many stones from hands. There were also that threw fire. The enemy oppressed with multitude of misseue weapons, forsooke both the Rampier and the Towers; so that *Agasias* the *Symphalian*, and *Philoxenus* the *Pelenian*, laying downe their weapons, ascended the Rampier in their coats alone, and one drawing and helping vp another, and many entering the Fort seemed now to be taken, and the *Peltasts* and light-armed ranging vp and downe, fell a spoiling all they could. *Xenophon* stood at the gate keeping out the armed. For there appeared other enemies vpon some strong heights of the mountaines. Not long after a cry arose within, and the *Grecians* fled, some with things taken in the Fort, some being wounded, and the throng about the gate was great. Those, that ran out of the gates, being asked what the matter was, said, There was a Citadell within, and a multitude of enemies which fell out, and charged the light-armed, and *Peltasts*. Whereupon *Xenophon* proclaimed by *Tolmides* the crier, that who-soeuer would haue his part in the prey of the Fort, should enter. Many therefore

therefore entred, and beat backe those, that salied out, and again shut vp the enemy into the Citadell. The *Grecians* spoiled and carried away all, that was found without the Citadell. But the armed laid downe their armes partly by the Rampier, partly at the way that led to the Citadell. *Xenophon* and the Captaines in the meane time cast their eies about to resolue, whether the Citadell were possible to be taken, or not. For so all should be safe, otherwise the retreat must needes be full of danger. After they had viewed it, they held it impregnable. Thereupon they put themselves in order for retreat, and euery man pulled vp the stakes of the Rampier as they came in his way. The vnseruiceable were sent out with the prey, and most of the Armed, euery Captaine retaining only such, as he trusted. As soone as they began to retreat a multitude of enemies armed with wicker Targets, and Spears, and Greeues and *Paphlagonian* head-peeces salied out of the Citadell. Many other climed vp on the Houses which stood on either side the street, that led to the Citadell; whereby it grew dangerous to giue chase toward the Gates of the Citadell. For they threw downe mightie Timber logs from aboue, and made it vn safe either to stand still, or goe off; and the night approaching brought terror with it. Fighting in this sort, and irresolued what to doe, some God gaue a meanes of safetie. For suddainly a House on the right hand, it was vnknowne by whose kindling, burst out into a flame. The House no sooner fell, but the enemies, that were gotten vp to the Houses on the right hand shifted away. When *Xenophon* saw this worke of Fortune, he commanded the Houses on the left hand to be likewise fired; which being made of Wood caught fire quickly, whereby the enemy forsooke the Houses on that side also, and the Armie was annoied only by those in Front, who, doubtlesse were like to fall vpon the Reare, in their retreat and departure. Here *Xenophon* gaue order, that all, who were without the reach of misseue weapons, should bring Wood, and lay it betwixt the enemy and them, and when the store was sufficient, it was set on fire. The Houses were also fired, that stood next the Rampier of the Towne ditch, that the enemy might be bulied on all sides. So by the helpe of fire betwixt the enemy, and them, they made a hard retreat. With this fire were consumed the whole Cite, the Houses, Turrets, Rampier, and all things else, except the Citadell. The next day the *Grecians* hauing gained sufficient prouision retired toward their Campe: but because they feared the way, that led toward *Trapezond*, as being sleepe and narrow, they laid a false ambush. There was in the Campe a *Myssian* by nation and name, who taking vnto him foure or fise *Cretans* remained in a woody plat of ground, making semblance to the enemy, as though he meant to hide himselfe. Their Targets being of Braffe cast glimmering light here and there thorow the Wood, which the enemy descrying feared as much, as if it had been a true ambush. In the meane time the Armie was descended into good ground, and the *Myssian* thinking they had now gained way enough, gaue the word to his companions euery man to shift away amaine, and immediatly he & his comforts fled.

The

Ἰδὼν τὰ ὄπλα.
Ἰδὼν τὰ ὄπλα.
ἀλλ' οὐκ ἔλαβον.

The manner of the retreat.

Fight in a street.

ἡ μάχη ἐν τῇ
ὁδῷ.
Fire to fauour a retreat.

A meanes to retreat.

A false ambush.

The *Cretans* forsaking the ordinarie way (for they said the enimie might out-run them and take them prisoners) and conueying themselves into Woods, and tumbling downe thorow steepe and rough Forrests, came safe to the Armie: but the *Myfian* flying in the ordinarie way, cried out for succour. He was rescued & brought away wounded, and the Souldiers, that rescued him, retired by little and little, casting Darts, hauing also amongst them a few *Cretans*, who shot at the enimie. So they came all safe to the Campe. When neither *Cherisophus* returned, and no more prouision was to be found for the Campe, they decreed to proceed on their iourney, and put on ship-board the sick, and those that were about fortie yeeres of age, and children, and women, and vessels vnecessary for the iourney; and shipping likewise *Philefius* and *Sophonetus* the eldest of the Coronels, they committed the charge of all to them. The rest went on by Land. The way was prepared and made plaine and euen; and in three daies march they reached as farre as *Cerasunt* a Grecian Citie standing vpon the Sea, being a Colonie of the *Sinopeans* situate in the *Colchian* Countrey. Here they remained ten dayes, and tooke a muster of Armes and of the number of their people, and found 8600 men. So many were left of the 10000 or thereabouts, that ascended with *Cyrus* into *Persia*; the rest were consumed by the enemies hand and by Snow, and some by sicknesse. Here also they diuided the money, that arose out of the sale of Captiues, and the Coronels tooke into their hands the tenth part, which was seuered as an offering to be made to *Apollo*, and *Diana* of *Ephesus*; euerie one keeping and preserving a share for the gods. *Neon* the *Asinean* was appointed to receiue the portion, which should haue been deliuered to *Cherisophus*. *Xenophon* therefore making readie the offering for *Apollo*, bestowed and hallowed it in the treasure of the *Asbenians* at *Delphos*, and inscribed thereon both his owne name, and the name of *Proxenus* the *Boetian*, who was put to death with *Clearchus*. For *Proxenus* was *Xenophons* Host. The offering for *Diana* of *Ephesus*, because himselfe was like to incurr hazard at such time, as he departed out of *Asia* toward *Buotia* with *Agésilas*; he left with *Megabyzus* *Dianaes* Priest, and willed him in case himselfe escaped the danger, to make restitution to his owne hands; if he miscaried, to consecrate it to *Diana*, and bestow it in such sort, as in his opinion should be most acceptable to the goddesse. But afterward, when *Xenophon* was banished his country, and dwelled now at *Scylunt*, which Towne was built by the *Lacedemonians* neere to *Olympia*, *Megabyzus* came to *Olympia* to see the Games, and restored to *Xenophon* the money left in his custodie: and *Xenophon* receiuing it bought a portion of Land for the goddesse in a place designed by *Apollo*, thorow which the Riuer *Sellennus* runneth. At *Ephesus* also there runneth a Riuer *Sellennus* hard by *Dianaes* Temple, and either of these Riuers nourisheth both other fish, & fish with shels. But in the *Scyluntine* portion of Land there are beasts of all sorts fit to be hunted. He built a temple also, and an altar with the consecrated mony; and from thenceforth gathering alwaies the tenth of the fruits growing on the Land,

They continue their iourney by Land.

Tythes amongst the Gentiles.

Xenophon careful to discharge the trust reposed in him.

For this departure, see *Xenop. in vita Agésilai.* 657. & *Hist. Grec. lib. 4.* 513. B.

Scylunt.

The land consecrated to *Diana*.

land, he offered sacrifice to *Diana*; and all the Citizens and neere-dwellers, as well men, as women, are partakers of the feast. The goddesse alloweth them that come, meale, bread, wine, and iunkets, and a portion of the flesh of those beasts, which are either taken from the consecrated ground, and sacrificed, or else killed in hunting. The sonnes of *Xenophon*, and of other Citizens exercise the hunting against the time of the feast; and other men also hunt with them; such as are desirous of the sport. There are taken partly out of the Holy-land, partly out of *Phaloe*, wilde Boares, Goats, and Red-deere. The place lieth in the way, as you goe from *Lacedemon* to *Olympia*, distant about twentie Furlongs from the Temple of *Olympian Iupiter*. There are in the consecrated ground, groues and mountaines stored with trees sufficient to nourish hogs, and goats, and sheepe, and horses; so that the carriage-beasts of such, as come to the feast, are largely provided for. About the Temple it selfe there is a groue of fruit-trees of all kindes, that are fit to be eaten, after they wax ripe. The Temple it selfe, as much, as a little one may resemble a great, is like to the *Ephesian* Temple, and the Image made of Cypres, like to the golden Image at *Ephesus*. By the Temple is a pillar erected & inscribed with these words: *The ground consecrated to Diana*. He that hath the possession and vse of it, let him pay the tenth of euery yeares increase, and with the ouer-plus repaire and maintaine the Temple. In case he neglect this, the goddesse will take order for her owne. From *Cerasunt* they, that were before shipped, held on their course by Sea, the rest made forward by Land. When they were come to the borders of the *Mosynacans*, they sent vnto them *Timosibee* a *Trapezantine* (who was their guest) to demand, whether they should passe thorow their countrey, as friends, or as enemies. They trusting to the strength of their countrey, answered; It would be all one to them, which they did. *Timosibee* after this answer returned, gaue the *Grecians* to vnderstand, that there were other *Mosynacans* dwelling further off, that were enemies to those, whereupon it was thought good to send vnto them to see, if they would enter into fellowship of warre with the *Grecians*. *Timosibee* being sent, returned, bringing with him the chiefe Magistrates. After their arrivall, they and the *Grecian* Coronels assembled together, & *Xenophon* began in this manner, *Timosibee* being his Interpreter. We, O *Mosynacans*, because we want shipping, are desirous to passe into *Greece* on foot. They who hinder vs, as we vnderstand, are your enemies. You haue now an opportunitie presented vnto you, if you list to embrace it, by entering into societie of war with vs, to be reuenged of them for all the wrong, they haue any time heretofore done you, and to make them thenceforth your vassals. If you at this present let vs passe by without taking the opportunitie, consider with your selues if euer hereafter, you are like to haue the like forces ioined with you in league. The chiefe Magistrate of the *Mosynacans*, answered; he was desirous to effect the proposition, and to ioyne in societie of warre with the *Grecians*. Go to then, quoth *Xenophon*, wherein will you employ vs, if we become your confederates? and you, what aide can you

The *Mosynacans*.

Aide against a common enemy.

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αὐτὸν ἔχον.
ἔθεντο τὰ ὅπλα
εἰς τὰς χεῖρας.

ὁ αὐτὸν ἔχον.
The order and
armes of the
Mossynecans.

λόγχων ἔχον.

κεφάλων.

you giue vs to further our passage? They replied, We are of strength enough to enter our common enemies countrey on the further side, and to send you shipping and men, both to assist you in the field, and to be guides of your iourney. Vpon this taking and giuing assurance they departed. The next day they came with 300 boats, euery boat made of one peece of wood. In each boat were three men, of whom two landing laid downe their armes in order, one remained behinde in the boat; And they which remained in the boats sailed away straightwaies, the other staid behinde, and embattelld themselves in this manner: They stood a hundred deepe, like as the stage-dancers are wont, filing themselves one opposit to the other, hauing all Wicker Targets covered with white hayrie ox-hydes, the Targets in forme like to an linclee. In the right hand each man held a dart of about six cubits long, armed with a head before, the stele being round. They had coats, that couered their knees, & were as thicke as a hempen cord, that you binde a couerlet withall. Vpō their heads they had leather head-peece like to them, which the *Paphlagonians* weare, in the midst whereof ariseth a *Come* resembling the forme of a *Tyara*. They bore iron hatchets besides. After this one of them beginning, all the rest sung and marched forward by measure, and passing through the rankes and armes of the *Grecians*, forthwith aduanced against the enemy toward a Fort, which seemed easie to be won. It lay before the Citie, which is called the *Metropolis*, or mother Citie, and is held in chiefe estimation amongst the *Mossynecans*, and for it they warred one against another. For they, who enioyed it, had their feet vpon the neckes of the other *Mossynecans*. They said, that the present possessours had no right nor lawfull possession, but being common to all, they had done wrong in entering & deraining it to themselves alone. Some of the *Grecians* also followed them, not by order or appointment of the Coronels, but in greedinesse of pillage. The enemy held himselfe coy a while, but when he saw them neere the Fort, he sallied out, and putting them to flight killed a great number of the *Barbarians*, and some of the *Grecians*, that ascended with them; and followed the chace, till he might see the army of the *Grecians* ready to come to rescue. Then turning about he retired, and cutting off the heads of those, that were slaine, shewed them to the *Grecians*, and to their enemies, and with all danced, singing a kinde of measure. The *Grecians* were much grieved, that by this action the enemy was emboldned, and that the *Grecians* in good number were seene to flie, which they neuer did before in all this iourney. But *Xenophon* calling the Souldiers together, spake vnto them in this sort: Be not dismayed. (O Souldiers) with that, which is happened. The good of it is, as great, as the euill. For first of all you now know certainly, that those, that shall be our guides, are enemies to them, vnto whom of necessitie we must be enemies. Then those *Grecians*, that seemed to contemne our order, and thinking themselves to be able to do as much with the *Barbarians*, as with vs, feeles the smart of their own folly, & will hardly hereafter be brought to leaue our company. But you must prepare

prepare your selues to shew the *Barbarians* your friends, that you are better men, than they, and to let the enemy know, that they haue at this present to do with another sort of people, than with those, who fought disorderly with them of late. This day therefore they rested. The next day after they had sacrificed, and the sacrifice portended good fortune, they dined, and ordering their companies in file, and placing the *Barbarians* on the left hand, they aduanced against the enemy, hauing the Archers betwixt the companies, that were in file, somewhat more backward than the front of the armed. For some of the light-armed of the enemy ran forth, and cast stones, which quickly were repressed by our Archers & *Peltasts*. The rest aduanced leisurely first toward the Fort, from which the day before the *Barbarians* and *Grecians* were put to flight. For there the enemy stood embattelld, and made head against the *Grecians*. And first they fought and made good the place against the *Peltasts*; but when the armed approached, immediatly they turned their backs. The *Peltasts* followed with speed, giuing chace vpward toward the mother City or Metropolis, the armed moued forward in order. When they were come vp to the houses of the Metropolis, the enemies ioyned and fought all together, and threw darts: and hauing thicke and long pikes, such as a man could hardly weild, with those they endeouored to defend themselves hand to hand. When the *Grecians* gaue no ground, but ioynly pushed forward, the *Barbarians* fled, and all of them forsooke the Fort. Their King that was in a wooden Tower built in the Citadell (whom in common they nourish, as long as he remaineth there, and guardeth the place) sought not to escape away, nor they that were in the Fort before taken in, but were burnt together with the wooden houses. The *Grecians* rifling and spoyling the place, found in the houses treasures of bread heaped and hoorded vp, as the *Mossynecans* reported, the last yeare, according to the manner of the countrey. The new corne with the straw lay by it selfe, the most part whereof was eared. There was found also peeces of *Dolphins* salted, and laid vp in vessels, and also the fat of *Dolphins*, which the *Mossynecans* vse as the *Grecians* doe oyle, and many and great chestnuts in gartets, which haue no manner of cleft in them. They boyle these, and vse them in stead of bread. Wine was found likewise, which being vmingled seemed sharpe by reason of the fowrenesse, being mingled it had a good sauour, and was pleasant in taste. The *Grecians* hauing dined here marched forward deliuering vp the City to the *Mossynecans* their confederates. Of other Forts belonging to the enemy, which they passed by, some of the weaker sort were forsaken, other some willingly yeelded, and gaue themselves into the *Grecians* hands. The most part of them are of this kinde. They stand distant one from another 80 furlongs more or lesse. When the country people cry out one to another, they heare it from City to City by reason of the height and hollownesse of the countrey. After they were come to the borders of their confederate *Mossynecans*, they shewed them boyes (rich mens children) that were fed and fattd with foddren Chestnuts, which boyes were exceeding tender and

N

white,

ὁρδὴς καὶ
λόγους ποιῶνται
ἑαυτοῖς.

The Fort taken.

Bread a yeare old.

Fat of Dolphins.
Chestnuts.

to English
mile.

The barba-
routnesse of
the *Mosynecans*.

The *Tibarenes*.

The retreat of
the *Grecians*
was 1352 mile
and a halfe to
Cotyora.

Embassage of
the *Sinopeans*.

Accuseth the
Grecians of
wrong.

white, and not much lesse in bredth than in length, hauing their backs various, and all the foreparts rased and marked with diuers formes of flowers. They fought also openly to vse the whores, which the *Grecians* brought with them: For that is their manner. All both men and women are white of complexion. They that were in this iourney, held the countrey more barbarous, and more differing from the *Grecian* rites of liuing, than all the rest they passed thorow. For they doe openly and before a multitude, that which other men doe, and dare not doe but in priuate; and being alone they demeane themselves, as if they were in company. They speake to themselves, laugh to themselves, and dance, wherefoeuer they become, as though they fought to please other mens eyes. Thorow this countrey both friend and enemy the *Grecians* marched in eight encampings, and came to the *Chalybes*. These are a people but few in number, and in subiection to the *Mosynecans*, and liue the most part of them vpon iron works. From thence they passed to the *Tibarenes*, whose countrey is more champaine, and hath Forts situate by the Sea side, that are not very strong. The Coronels resolved to fall vpon this countrey, to the end to gaine some riches for the Army. Therefore they tooke not the hospital gifts which the *Tibarenes* sent, but bade them stay till they had taken counsell by the sacrifice which they offred. After they had offred many, at last all the Soothsayers told them plaine, that the gods allowed not of the warre. Therefore they accepted the gifts of hospitality, and marching as thorow a countrey, that was friend, they came to *Cotyora*, a *Grecian* Citie, a colony of the *Synopeans*, situate in the *Tibaren* territory. Thus far the Armie marched on foot. The length of the descent of the way from the place in the *Babylonian* territory, where the battell was fought, to *Cotyora*, was 122 encampings, 620 *Parasangs*, 10820 furlongs: of the time eight moneths. They staid at *Cotyora* 45 dayes. During this abode they first sacrificed to the gods, and then made shewes euery one according to the manner of his countrey, and proposed games of exercise, and tooke their prouision partly out of *Paphlagonia*, partly out of the territory of the *Cotyrites*. For they neither exhibited a market, nor receiued the sicke within their gates. About this time came Ambassadors from the *Sinopeans*, fearing the danger that might befall the *Cotyrites*, both in regard of their City (for it was theirs, and paid them tribute) and of their territory, which as they heard was spoiled; and comming into the Campe, they spake thus by the mouth of *Hecatonymus*, who was their Spokesman, and reputed a good Orator. The City of *Sinopis* (ð Souldiers) hath sent vs vnto you, partly commending you, that being *Grecians* you haue overcome the *Barbarians*, partly to congratulate with you, that you are returned safe out of so many perils and dangers, as we are informed you haue beene in: But we that are *Grecians* desire of you, that are also *Grecians*, that your comming may bee profitable and not preiudicial vnto vs, considering to this day we neuer did you any wrong. These *Cotyrites* are our Colonie, and we are the men that conquered their Territory from the *Barbarians*, and gaue it to them to inhabit and manure.

manute. For which cause they pay vs a tribute imposed vpon them, as doe likewise the *Cerasuntians* and *Trapezuntians*; so that what wrong soeuer you doe them, we imagine we suffer it our selues. We heare then, that entring into the City by force some of you quarter in the houses, other take what they thinke good, out of the Country against the owners wills. If you hold on this course, we shall be forced to craue aid of *Corylas* and the *Paphlagonians* against you, and of any else that we can make our friends. Here *Xenophon* standing vp spake thus in the behalfe of the Souldiers: We (ð *Sinopeans*) are come into these quarters ioyfull and glad, that out of so many perils we haue preserved our liues and armes. For to bring away spoile enriching our selues, and withall to fight with the enemy, was impossible. And now after we came to *Grecian* Cities, in *Trapezund*, wee bought such things, as we stood in need of (for they gaue vs a Market) and whereas they honoured vs, and sent vs gifts of hospitality, we did our best to honour them, and not only abstained from the *Barbarians*, that were their friends, but also harried and wasted to the vttermost of our power, those *Barbarians*, against whom they led vs. They whom the City sent in friendship with vs, as Guides, are present here, aske them, I pray, how we behaued our selues toward them. But whithersoever we come, and haue no Market either in the Territorie of *Barbarians* or *Grecians*, we take things necessary, not out of insolency, but forced by necessitie. We accounted the *Carduchans*, *Chaldeans*, and *Taochans* enemies (albeit no Subiects to the King, and yet men to be feared) because they gaue vs no Market, and we could not want needfull prouision. The *Macrons*, albeit *Barbarians*, in regard they furnished vs such a Market, as they could, we dealt friendly with, and tooke nothing from them by force. If the *Cotyrites*, who you say are yours, haue not the like friendship, they may thanke themselves: For they behaued themselves not as friends vnto vs, but shutting their gates, neither receiued vs into their City, nor yet gaue vs a Market without. The cause hereof they lay vpon your Gouvernour. But where you say, that we entred, and now lodge in the City by force, the truth is, we requested them to receiue our sicke men into their houses. When they opened not the Gates, we, offering no other violence, entred there, where they would haue kept vs out. The sicke men lodge indeed in their houses, but yet they liue of their owne without charging their Hosts a penny. And wee set guards vpon the Gates, lest our sicke men should haply be at the mercy of your Gouverneurs, and not in our power to take to vs, when we are disposed. The rest of vs, as you see, are orderly encamped in the Field, readie to gratifie those that deserve well at our hands, and to defend our selues against such, as offer vs iniurie. But where you threatned, that you would make *Corylas* and the *Paphlagonians* your friends to ioine with you against vs, Know, that if we must needs, we are not to warre against you both (for we haue already fought with numbers farre exceeding yours) but, if we list, we can as well gaine the friendship of *Corylas* and the *Paphlagonians*, as you. For we are glad to understand, that he

The defence of
Xenophon.

Cotyora a City.

Consultation
about the re-
mainder of
their journey.

would faine become owner of your Citie, and of the Fortresses ioining to the Sea. We can then by furthering his desire, make him our friend. After these words the fellow Embassadors of *Hecatonymus* declared, that they were thoroughly agrieved, with that, which *Hecatonymus* had spoken, and one of them stepping forth said: We come not to denounce warre, but to shew, we are your friends; and we will honour you with gifts of hospitalitie, if you please to come to the *Sinopaean* Citie. For the present we will enioine our people here to furnish you with what they are able, because we see, all is true, which you have spoken. After this the *Cotyrites* sent gifts of hospitalitie, and the *Grecian* Coronels entertained the *Sinopaean* Embassadors with feasts and bankets, and they conferred about many things with all friendship and good liking; and sought to informe themselves in other things, but principally in the remainder of their journey, and in such matter, as concerned them both. This was the end of that day. The next day the Coronels called the Souldiers together, and it was thought expedient to consult in the presence of the *Sinopaans* about the rest of the way into *Greece*. For if they were to set forward on foot, the *Sinopaans* seemed to be good guides (for they had much experience of *Paphlagonia*) if by Sea, they might stand them in stead, seeming alone able to turnish out shipping enough for the whole Armie. Calling therefore the Embassadors vnto them, they consulted together and praied them being *Grecians* to assist them being also *Grecians* with their best affections, and aduice. Then *Hecatonymus* standing vp excused himselfe in that, he spoke concerning the making of the *Paphlagonian* friend, and added it was not his meaning to make warre against the *Grecians*, but albeit it were in their power to enter into friendship with the *Barbarians*, yet would they in loue prefer, and much more esteeme the respect of the *Grecians*. When he was required to deliuer his opinion, after he had made his praier to the gods, he begun in this sort: If I shall aduise you that, which my minde perswadeth me to be best and fittest for you, I pray the gods I may haue many good and prosperous fortunes: If otherwise, let the contrarie befall me. For I take this, if any other, to be of that kind of counsell, which is accounted holy: and if I shall now giue you good aduice, many of you will loue and commend me; if ill, as many will detest and curse me. This then I am assured of, if you journey by Sea, the trouble will be ours, in regard that we must furnish you out shipping. If you hold on by Land, you your selues are the men, that must make way with your Swords. I will notwithstanding deliuer those things, which lie in my knowledge. For I am well acquainted with the Countrey of *Paphlagonia*, and with their Fortresses. Both this and that Countrey haue large Plains and high Mountaines, and I know the way which you must of necessitie hold; and to say truth there is no other way then to passe along, where the Mountaines on both hands lift vp themselves with huge and exceeding lofty hornes, which a few men hauing taken and possessed, may easily maintaine, neither is there any multitude so great, that can dislodge them, or gaine the passage.

passage. This will I make manifest to any, whomsoever you shall be pleased to send with me. From hence there follow large Champaignes, and the inhabitants are furnished with such a power of Horse, as the *Barbarians* themselves esteeme to be better, then all that serue the King: and albeit the King sent for them, yet they absolutely refused to goe, their *Gouernour* carying too loslie a minde to be vnder any other mans command. But admit you can by stealth and preuention gaine the Mountaines, and likewise beat their Horse and Foot, which are in number aboue twelue *Myriades*, yet are you to passe ouer *Riuers*: First *Thermodesus* a *Riuier* of three *Plethers* in bredth, which I conceiue you will hardly get ouer, especially a multitude of enemies oppoling against you on the further side, and many likewise pursuing you behinde. The second *Tris* of three *Plethers* of bredth likewise. The third *Halis* two Furlongs broad, which cannot be passed without shipping, and who will furnith you with Ships? I may say the same of *Parthenius*, to which you must come, after you are ouer *Halis*. For my part therefore, I say not, that the iourney will be hard, but I say, it will be altogether impossible. But if you take your selues to Sea, you may without difficultie saile hence to *Sinope*, and from thence to *Heraclea*. From *Heraclea* you may goe on easily enough either by Land or Sea. For there is sufficient shipping at *Heraclea*. After he had thus discoursed, some suspected, that his speech tended to gratifie and retaine the friendship of *Coryllus* (for he was his Guest) other, that he did it in hope to gaine reward for his countell; some other, that he so discoursed, because he feared lest the *Sinopaean* Countrey should sustaine losse and spoile, if the Armie continued their march by Land. The *Grecians* decreed to hold on their iourney by Sea. This conclusion being made, *Xenophon* said: You see (*o Sinopaans*) that the Armie is readie to hold the way, which you aduise them to. Yet must you vnderstand thus much, that we are so determined to take Sea, if we shall finde such sufficiencie of shipping, that not one of vs shall need to be left behinde. But in case some of vs be to saile, other to remaine here, assure your selues, we will not goe, nor stirre a foot from hence. For this we all know, wheresoever we shall be the stronger, we shall be both able to saue our selues from danger, and to command such things as shall be needfull for vs. Where we are found the weaker, our condition will be no better, then if we were Slaves. When the Embassadors heard this, they aduised them to send Embassadors to the *Sinopaans*; and they sent *Calimachus* the *Aradian*, *Aristo* the *Athonian*, and *Samolus* the *Achaian*. So they took their iourney. Now at this sitge, when *Xenophon* considered with himselfe, and saw, that there were present in *Pontus* many armed *Grecians*, many *Pelasts*, many Archers and Slingers, and Horse, all of them very sufficient, by reason of their long vse in armes, and that the like power could not be raised with a small expence, he esteemed it a thing honourable to adde so much territorie and power vnto *Greece*, by planting a Colonie there. The Colonie he imagined would be great, when

Resolution to
goe by Sea.See 7th Chy.
Intention of
planting a
Colonic.

when he weighed in his minde, their owne multitude, and the number of the inhabitants of *Pontus* round about. Hereupon calling to him *Silanus* the *Ambraciote*, who had bene *Cyrus* his Dinner, he asked counsell of the gods by sacrifice, before he acquainted the Souldiers with the matter. *Silanus* fearing the sequell hereof, and that the army might happily remaine there, spread abroad in the army, that *Xenophon* had in purpose to stay them, and to build a Citie, and to purchase himselfe a name, and great power and gouernment. *Silanus* himselfe was desirous to returne into *Greece* with all speed. For he kept by him vspent the 3000 *Daricks*, which *Cyrus* gaue him, when sacrificing hee foretold the ten daies, before the end of which no battell should be offered by the King. When the Souldiers heard hereof, some were of opinion; it was good to stay, other of the contrary. *Timasion* the *Dardanian*, and *Thorax* the *Beotian* told certaine *Heracleans* and *Sinopaans* Merchants, which were in the Campe, that vnlesse they gaue pay to the Souldiers, to prouide things necessary for Nauigation, it would be danger, lest so great forces should remaine in *Pontus*. For this is *Xenophons* aduice, quoth they, and he exhorteeth vs as soone, as shipping comes, to say to the army out of hand: We see you now (ô Souldiers) destitute both of meanes to prouide for Nauigation, and also to buy and carry with you, any thing to gratifie your friends at home. But if it please you to make choiceto inhabe some part of the country, that lieth here round about in *Pontus*, and giue free liberty to any man, that is disposed, either to depart to his owne country, or to remaine here, shipping is readie now, and at your deuotion, and you may on the sudden fall vpon what part you are resolved. The Merchants hearing this, made report to their Cities. *Timasion* the *Dardanian* dispatched away with them, *Erimachus* the *Dardanian*, & *Thorax* the *Beotian*, to signifie as much by word of mouth. As soone as the message was deliuered, the *Sinopaans* and *Heracleans* sent immediately to *Timasion* to spare for no money, but at what price soeuer to bring to passe, that the army might ship it selfe and saile away from thence. He willingly heard their answer, and after spake thus in the assembly of the Souldiers. There is no reason (follow Souldiers) to harken to any stay here, nor to preferre any thing before your returne into *Greece*. I vnderstand, there are some, that aske counsell of the gods about this businesse, and yet neuer make you acquainted with it. But if you will heare me, and after the new Moone be pleased to saile away from hence, I promise to giue euery one of you a *Cyzicene* the moneth, and will bring you to *Troas*, from whence I am banished; and my country will, no question, giue you good entertainment, being glad of my returne; and I will bring you thither, where you shall haue good store of spoile; For I know *Edus*, and *Phrigia*, and *Troas*, and all *Pharnabazus* his gouernment; the last, because it is the place of my birth; the other, because I haue serued there vnder *Clearchus* and *Dercyllidas*. Then *Thorax* the *Beotian* (who euer contended with *Xenophon* about the Coronels place) stood vp presently, and said: That if they were disposed to goe out of *Pontus*, they might see in

Cheronefus

A *Daricke*, a peece of mony with *Darius* image vpon it: the value of the peece 13.s. A sight of those of the contrary opinion.

Timasons speech, that desired to goe to his owne country.

A *Cyzicene* is 18.s.

Cheronefus, a faire and rich countrey; in which he that would, might stay and inhabite, he that was otherwise minded might returne home. But it was ridiculous, seeing there was land enough and plentifull to be had in *Greece*, to seeke to nettle and plant themselves amongst the *Barbarians*. And in the meane time, while you come there, I, quoth he, as *Timasion* hath done, doe promise you pay. Thus he spake, not being ignorant, what had passed berwixt *Timasion* and the *Heracleans* and *Sinopaans* concerning taking ship, and sayling out of the Countrey. All this while *Xenophon* held his peace. Then two *Achaans*, *Philesius* and *Lyco* standing vp, said: It was not to be suffered, that *Xenophon* had both privately perswaded the army to stay there, and without their knowledge asked counsell of the gods about their stay, and now, when the matter came in publike question, was mute, and would say nothing. Hereupon *Xenophon* was enforced to stand vp, and speake thus: I for my part (O Souldiers) as you see, aske counsell of the gods as often, as I can, both concerning you, and concerning my selfe, that I may speake, aduise, and doe that, which may be most for your and mine owne honour and profit. And now I haue sacrificed about this very businesse, to know, whether it would proue better for me to speake to you, and to enter into it, or altogether to forbear, and not meddle withall. *Silanus* the soothsayer answered me, that the inwards, which is the matter of most importance, were faire (for he knew, that by reason of my continuall vsance to be at sacrifice, I my selfe was not vnskillfull therein:) But he added, that a deceit and ambush against me, might well be discouered in the sacrifice: for he knew very well his owne resolution to accuse me to you. And hee gaue out in the Campe, that I aduised with my selfe to effect these things without your consent. For my part, if I saw you in want, the scope of my thoughts should be, to bring to passe, that after you had taken one Citie or other, he that was disposed might presently saile away, he that was otherwise minded might remaine here, till he had prouided some matter of profit for his friends. But now since the *Heracleans* & *Sinopaans* will both send you shipping, & there are, that haue promised you pay after the new Moone, I hold it a thing of no small moment, that you haue meanes to bring you in safety to the place you desire, and withall to receiue pay for your iourney. And not onely I my selfe desist from my former opinion, but also tell them, who come to me otherwise-minded, it will be better, if they also change theirs. For being many together, as now we are, you will be both honoured and esteemed of all, and besides want no furniture of things needfull; because in your strength will be included power also of possassing the riches of him, that is weaker than your selues. But if you diuide your selues, you will neither be able to make prouision of victuall, nor yet depart hence in the safety you desire. So that I am of your opinion to continue our iourney toward *Greece*. And in case any man remaine behinde, or forsake the Armie before it be wholly in safety, I hold him worthy to be punished as an offender. Whosoeuer is of this opinion, let him lift vp his hand.

All

Thorax the *Beotian*.

Servir.

Xenophons speech.

All held vp their hands. *Silanus* hereupon cried out, and went about to perswade, that every man of right ought to haue liberty to depart at his pleasure. But the Souldiers would not heare him, nay they threatned; if he were taken shifting away, he should pay for it soundly. Afterward, when the *Heracleots* vnderstood that the Armie was resolu'd to saile away, and that *Xenophon* had agreed thereto, they sent shipping, but the money that they promised to *Timasion* and *Thorax* for pay, they sent not. From that time forward, they who promised this money, were much perplexed, and began to stand in feare of the Armie. And taking to them the other Coronels, in the number of whom were all, but *Neo* the *Asinise*, *Cherisophus* his Lieutenant (for *Cherisophus* was absent) and communicating with them, what they had negotiated, they came to *Xenophon*, and told him they repented of their former opinion, and now they thought it best for the Armie to saile to *Phasis*, and to take into their hands the *Phasian* territorie. The sonne of *Aetas* reigned ouer the *Phasians* at that time. *Xenophon* answered, he would propound no such thing to the Armie: you, if you please, may call an assembly, and make the motion your selues. *Timasion* the *Dardanian* deliuered then his opinion, which was not to call an assembly of the Armie, but euery Coronell to deale with his Captaines, and to seeke to perswade them seuerally to be of that opinion. So they parted, and laboured to put this resolution in practise. In the meane time it came to the Souldiers eares, and *Neo* gaue out, that *Xenophon* hauing drawne the other Coronels to his party, plotted how to deceiue the Armie, and bring them backe againe to *Phasis*. The Souldiers tooke it in very ill part, & gathered together, and stood in rounds, and it was to be feared, they would do as they did before to the messengers of the *Chalcians*, and to them that had the ouerseeing of the prouision of the Market, of whom they stoned all, that escaped not to the Sea. When *Xenophon* perceiued it, he thought it fit to warne a publike meeting with all speed, and not to suffer them to come together of themselves; and he commanded the Cryer to summon the assembly. No sooner heard they the Cryer, but they came together with all speed. Here *Xenophon* accused not the Coronels in that they came vnto him, but spake in this manner: I heare (O Souldiers) that there is a man who accuseth me, and giueth out, that I seeke to deceiue you, and bring you backe againe to *Phasis*. Heare me therefore for Gods sake; and if I shall seeme to wrong you, my selfe will hold my selfe vnworthy to depart hence, before I suffer punishment for my deserts. But if you finde them, that slander me, to be in the wrong, vse them I pray you, as you shall thinke they deserue. You know, I make no question, in what quarter of heauen the Sunne ariseth, and where he setteth, and that in case a man were to goe into *Greece*, he is to iourney Westward; if backe againe to the *Barbarians*, toward the East. Can any man then deceiue you, as though the Sunne should arise and set in a contrary quarter of heauen? Besides, we see that the North wind carieth vs out of *Pontus* into *Greece*, the South inward toward *Phasis*. And it is a common speech amongst you: The

North

North wind bloweth, we haue now a faire passage into *Greece*. If then a man sought to deceiue you, he were to put you a boord, when the wind bloweth South. Yea but I meane to thip you, when it is caline. Well then, shall not I saile in one ship, you in a hundred at least? How can I then either compell you against your will, or lead you on by deceiuing you? But say you were beguiled and bewitched by me, and so brought to *Phasis*. We shall then land there, and you will easily perceiue, that you are not in *Greece*, and I shall be but one man, that deceiued you, you neere 10000 that are deceiued, and all in Armes. How then can any one man cast himselfe into more certaine danger, then by such counsel about himselfe and about you? But these are the speeches of foolish men, and of such as enuie me, because I am honoured by you. And yet they enuie me without cause. For which of them doe I hinder either to speake, if he can, that which is for your good, or to fight for you, if he be disposed, or to watch and be carefull for your safetie? Doe I oppose against any man in the election of Commanders? Nay, I giue way to all; on Gods name command he that will; only let him doe that which shall tend to your good. I haue spoken enough concerning these things. If any of you thinke, that either himselfe or other are deceiued by these words of mine, let him come forth, and shew wherein. Now because you haue heard enough hereof, depart not hence, I pray, till you be partakers of a matter, which I see is begun in the Armie already, and it it creepe further, and shall be found such, as is reported, it will be time for vs to take aduice concerning our selues, that we seeme not the vilest and most execrable creatures that euer were, both towards the gods, and towards men, and towards our confederates, and towards our enemies, and at last grow into an vniuersall contempt of all men. The Souldiers hearing this, wondred what it might be, and bid him tell it out plainly. Then he began againe: You remember that in the *Barbarian* mountaines there were certaine Villages allied in friendship with the *Cerauntians*, from which mountaines there were that descended, and sold vs beasts for sacrifice, and such other things as they had. I thinke some of you also went to the neere of those Villages to buy necessities, and afterward returned to the Campe. *Clearchus* a Captaine of ours, vnderstanding that one of the Villages was small, and vnguarded, because it was reputed to be comprehended within our League, acquainting none of vs with his purpose, went against it in the night, thinking to make boot of it. His resolution was, in case he surprized the Village, no more to returne to the Armie, but entering the ship, in which his companions ran along the shore, and putting into it, what he had rifled, to saile away and get him out of *Pontus*. His companions and he, as I now vnderstand, were resolved upon this point. Assembling therefore such, as he had brought to his lure, he led them against the Village. The day preuented his march, and the inhabitants flocking together, and sending misseue weapons, & striking and wounding from the higher ground, slew *Clearchus*, and many other. Some of the Souldiers got to *Ceraunt*. These things

O

tell

fell out the same day we marched hither on foot. Some of those, that came in the ship, were yet at *Cerasunt*, not ioyned with their companions. After this, as the *Cerasuntines* report, there came from the same Village three ancient men, which desired to haue access to vs in generall. When they found vs not there, they told the *Cerasuntines*, they wondred much what we meant, to come in that manner against them. The *Cerasuntines* answered, it was not the fact of the whole Armie. They were glad thereof, and said they would come to vs by ship, and informe vs how things were caried, and giue libertie to such as would, to burie the dead. Some of the *Grecians*, that saued themselves by flight, were yet at *Cerasunt*, and perceiuing whither the *Barbarians* intended to goe, were so bold, as not only to cast stones at them themselves, but incited other to doe the like. So the men died, being three in number, Ambassadors stoned to death. After this fact the *Cerasuntines* came vnto vs, and certified vs of all that had hapned; and we the Coronels hearing it, were much grieued, and aduised with the *Cerasuntines*, how the dead bodies of the *Grecians* might be buried; and sitting without the place of Armes, we heard vpon the sudden a great vprore and cry, Strike, strike, throw, throw; and by and by we might see a great number running together, some hauing stones in their hands, other some stooping to take vp stones. The *Cerasuntines*, which saw what was done in their Citie, for feare fled to their ships. There were also amongst vs, which were not without feare. I went out and asked, what the matter meant. Some knew nothing, and yet had stones in their hands. At last I hit vpon one that knew, who told me that the Commissaries for victuall had infinitely abused the Armie. In this meane time one had spied *Zelarchus*, a Commissarie, going toward the Sea, and presently cast out a great cry. The other as soone as they heard it, ran against him, as if a wilde Boare, or Hart had presented himselfe. The *Cerasuntines*, when they saw them runne, imagining they were bent against them, tooke themselves to their heeles and tumbled into the Sea. Many *Grecians* did the like, and as many as could not swim, were drowned. Now what thinke you of these men? None of them committed any offence, but feared that a madnesse had fallen vpon vs, as it vseth vpon dogs. If therefore these things shall be so caried, see in what case our Armie will be. First, the whole body will not be Masters to make warre or peace with whom they thinke meet, but euery priuate man that will, may leade an Armie whither and against whom he list. Then in case Ambassadors come to vs for peace, or for ought else, they that will, may by killing them, debarre you from hearing what message they bring. Besides, what respect can your Commanders haue amongst you, when whosoever chooseth himselfe Coronell, and list to say, Throw, throw, shall be able to put to death, whom hee pleaseth, Commanders or priuate men, and that vncondemned, especially hauing followers to execute his commands, as it now came to passe? Further consider, I pray, what these Coronels of their owne choice haue done for you. *Zelarchus* the Commissarie, if he haue wronged you,

you, is by shipping escaped without punishment; if he haue not wronged you, he is fled from the Armie fearing he should suffer death iniuriously, and without sentence or iudgement. And the stoners of the Ambassadors what haue they done? Forsooth they haue brought to passe, that you alone of all *Grecians* can haue no safe being at *Cerasunt*, vnlesse you come thither by force. As for the dead bodies, which heretofore were offred to buriall by those that slew them, now we cannot safely burie them with a Herald. For who will goe as a Herald, that hath himselfe beene murderer of Ambassadors? Yet haue we desired the *Cerasuntines* to haue a care of their buriall. You your selues be Iudges, whether these things be sufferable or no, left in the midst of these villanies euery man be driuen to prouide a guard for his owne securitie, and seeke to seat his tent in high and safe places. But if you conceiue that such facts, are the facts of wilde beasts, and not of men, take into your consideration, how they may be remedied. Otherwise how shall we with a good heart sacrifice to the gods, when we commit such impieties? or fight with our enemies, when we kill our selues? or what Citie, as friend, will receiue vs, when they see such lewdnesse in our conuersation? or who dares furnish vs with prouision, when we are found in such horrible crimes? If we hope for praise, who will praise vs, that carry our selues in this manner? This I am assured of, if any other should runne into the like behauiour, you your selues would be the first, that should condemne them as wicked and detestable men. After this all standing vp said with one consent, that the authors of these facts were to be punished, and that order was to be taken to preuent the like offences in future time, and whosoever committed them, was to be adiudged to death; and that the Coronels should appoint Iudges, who should haue authoritie to call in question all offences since the death of *Cyrus*. The Captaines were chosen to be Iudges. The Armie also was hallowed by the admonition of *Xenophon*, and by the aduice of the Soothsayers. It was further decreed, that the Coronels might be called to account for the time past; and being called to account, *Philesius* and *Xanticles* were condemned, for purloyning twenty pound of the money arising out of the custome of ships: *Sophenetus*, because being chosen to that office, he refused to execute it, was condemned in ten pound: Some charged *Xenophon* that he had beaten them, and brought as it were an action of iniury against him. *Xenophon* standing vp bid the first accuser tell, where he was beaten. He answered, there, where we almost died for cold; and where there was abundance of Snow. *Xenophon* said, if the Winter were such, as you affirme, and victuals failed, & wine was so scant, that we could not refresh our selues so much as with the smell thereof, and many fained vnder their trauell, & the enemy was at our heeles, if in such a season I iniuried you, I confesse, I was more wanton then an Asse, who, as they say, by reason of their wantonnesse are neuer wearie. Yet, I pray tell me, vpon what occasion were you beaten? whether did I aske you any thing, and because you gaue it not, did I beat you, or required I againe any thing of mine owne, that

you had? or fought with you about loue matters? or did I abuse you, when I was in Wine? None of all these, quoth he. *Xenophon* asked againe whether he were one of the Armed. No, quoth he. Are you one of the *Peltasts*? Neither, quoth he, but being a free-man borne, I droue a Mule by the appointment of my Camerades. *Xenophon* here remembred him and said: Are you he, that caried the sicke man? The same, quoth he, for you forced me to doe it, and to cast away the baggage of my Camerades. This casting away, quoth *Xenophon*, was in this manner. I gaue it to other to carie, and after to restore it to me; and receiuing it safe, as soone as you shewed me the sicke man, I restored it to you againe. Heare, I pray, how the matter stood, for it is worth the hearing. There was a Souldier left behind, being not able to continue his march: I knowing the man to be of our companie, compelled you to carie him, lest he should perish. For, as I remember, the enemy followed vs close; He confessed all this to be true. Therefore when I sent you before, comming vp with the Reare, did I not finde you digging of a pit, as though you meant to burie the man? and did not I commend you therefore? But when the Souldier bowed his legge in all our presences, did not all cry out, He liues? and when you spoke at your pleasure, and flatly denied to carie him, I beat you, I confesse; for it appeared, you knew, he was not dead. What then, quoth he, did he not die, after I shewed him to you? For we must all die, quoth *Xenophon*, must we therefore be throwne into a hole aliue? Here the whole assembly cried, that the man was not beaten enough. Then he desired some other to stand vp and declare the cause, why he was beaten. Vhen no man arose, *Xenophon* spake thus: I confesse (O Souldiers) I strooke many for forsaking their Ranks. It may suffice them, that they owe their safetie to you, who alwaies marched, and when need was, fought in order. They forsooth would be in better case than you, and leauing their place run before to harrie and spoile at their pleasure. If all had done the like, we had all been lost and cast away long ere this. I must confesse, I once beat one and forced him to march, who for slouth would not stand vp, but would needs betray himselfe to the enemy. For on a time after I my selfe had in the extremitie of Winter a good while set me downe on the ground; staying for some, that had not trusted vp their baggage, I found my selfe scarce able to rise, scarce able to stretch out my legs. Taking therefore herein experience of my selfe, I no sooner perceiued other men to squat downe, and giue themselves to slouth, but I forced them to arise, and to march on. For I perceiued, that motion and manly stirring engendred warrenth, and nimblenesse in the ioints, where sitting still on the other side, and quietnesse congealed the blood, and endangered the toes to rot off, which many of you know to be true by experience in your selues. Another that relied on the ground and loitered behinde, and both hindered you of the Vant, and vs of the Reare to march on, I strooke with my fist, lest the enemy should haue strooken him with his Speare. Now they are in safetie they may call me to answer for any thing, wherein I haue wronged them.

them. But if they had fallen into the enemies hands, what remedie could they haue had of their sufferings, were they neuer so grievous? My speech is simple. For if I haue punished any for his owne good, I desire to vndergoe the same sentence, that Fathers should for their Children, Masters for their Schollers. Physicians also both burne, and cut, for the health of their Patients. But if you conceiue, that all these things proceeded from me out of a wanton humour, consider, I pray, that, by the helpe of the gods, I dare doe more now than at that time, and that I drinke more Wine now, than I did then. For I see, you are now in faire weather; but when there is a storme, and the Sea goeth high, marke you not that the Master of the Ship in the Prowe, the steeres-man in the Poupe are angry with the passengers for the least stirring in the world? For small errors at that time ouerthrow all. But your selues also deemed, that in beating these men, I swarued not from right. For you stood not with Beanes, but with weapons in your hands, and it was in you to haue succoured them, if you had thought good. But you neither succoured, nor with me punished any man for forsaking his Rank, and by suffering them to be disobedient, you gaue the greater power to their misdemeanours. For I thinke, if you shall be pleased to make a true estimate, you shall finde the same men to haue been then the most disorderly, and now the most debolhed. *Boiscus* the *Beotian* wrestler strived then, all he could, vnder pretence of sicknesse, not to carie his Target: Now, as I vnderstand, he hath robbed many of the *Cotygorites*. Therefore, if you be wise, you will deale with him after another manner, than they doe with Dogges. Dogges, that are curst, men vse to tie vp in the day, and let loose in the night: Him it were not amisse to let loose in the day, and to shut vp in the night. But, that which I most wonder at, is, that you remember and passe not ouer with silence any thing be it neuer so small, wherein I seeme to haue giuen you offence. If I haue succoured any man against cold, or saued him from the enemy, or releued him in sicknesse, or in want, no man once remembreth it. And if I haue commended any man for a thing well done, or according to my abilitie honoured him for his valour, neither doe you remember that. And yet it is honest and iust, and holy, and pleasant, that remembrance be had rather of that which is good, than of the bad. After this the assembly broke vp, and repeated in minde, what had passed, and all things came to a faire end.

Peanes they
vied for voices
to absolve or
condemne in
many Cities.

Finis Libri Quinti.



THE SIXTH BOOKE OF THE HISTORIE OF

XENOPHON, TOVCHING THE
Ascent of CYRVS the younger, out
of *Asia* the Lesse, into the Higher
COUNTRYES.



From hence-forth during their abroad there, some ear and liued of things, that were brought to the Market, other of the spoile they purchased out of *Paphlagonia*. The *Paphlagonians* likewise sought tricks and advantages against the straglers, and by night attempted to entrappe and molest them, who lodged any distance from the Campe. By reason whereof they grew into greater enmitie one against another. But *Corylas*, who at that time had the rule of *Paphlagonia* sent to the *Grecians* Embassadors, who were furnished with faire Horse and braue apparell. They deliuered, that *Corylas* neither desired to wrong the *Grecians*, nor yet to be wronged by them. The Coronels answered, they would propound the matter to the assembly, but they feasted them, and inuited such as they thought fit to beare them companie; and sacrificing some of the Oxen taken in prey, and other beasts, they made them a plentiful banquet sitting vpon Carpets, and drinking out of horne-Cups, which they found in the Countrey. After the healths were drunke and the *Pean* sung, the *Thracians* first arose and danced in Armes to the Flute, and capred aloft & nimbly, and vsed Swords. At the last one strooke another in such sort, that one of them fell, and euerie man conceiued, that he was deadly wounded. But the stroke was artificially giuen, at which notwithstanding the *Paphlagonians* cried out, as men are wont to doe in feare. After he that strooke the other taking the spoile of his Armes, departed singing a *Thracian* Song, which they call *Sitalca*. Other *Thracians* taking the body of him, that fell, caried it out, as if he had beene dead, whereas indeed he had no manner

The *Thracian*
daunce.

The *Asian* and
Magnesian
dance.
The *Myrian*
dance.

The *Myrian*
dance.

The *Persian*
dance.

The *Mantinean*
dance.

The *Pyrrhic*.
It was a *Lacedemonian* dance
in armes, in-
vented by one
Pyrrhus a *Lacedemonian*.
Athenes
630. E.

The *Grecians*
take ship.

Sinope.

A *Medimne* is
about a bushel.
Amphora, a
measur of 30
gallons, or
thereabouts.

manner of harme. Next after them the *Asians* and *Magnetics* arose and danced the dance, commonly called the Seed-dance, in their armes. The manner of the dance is this: One of them laying by his sides sowe the land, and driueth on his Oxen in the plow, looking often backe, as though he were afraid. The theefe approacheth. The other as soone as he seeth him, snatcheth vp his armes, and fighteth with him before the Plow. All this is performed in measure to the Flute. At the last the theefe bindeth the Plow-man, and driueth away the Oxen; and sometime the Plow-man bindeth the theefe and fastneth him to the Oxen, his hands tied behinde him, and so driueth away. After this a *Myrian* came in, bearing in each hand a Target, and sometimes he danced, making semblance, as if he opposed against two, sometime he vsed the Targets, as it were against one man, sometimes he whirled about in a circle, and tumbled ouer his head, holding the Targets still in his hands: So that it was a pleasant sight to behold him. Lastly, he danced the *Persian* dance, clapping his Targets together one against another; and kneeled downe, and straightwayes stood vp againe; and all this he did by measure to the sound of the Flute. Then the *Mantineans*, and some other *Arcadians* stood vp armed as seemingly, as they could, and moued in measure, the Flute sounding a point of warre, and sung the *Pæan*, and danced, as the manner is in supplications to the gods. The *Paphlagonians* seeing this, wondred that all dances were performed in armes: The *Myrian*, to increase their wonder, after hee had gotten the assent of an *Arcadian*, that had a dancing woman, in his possession, brought her in, arming her as gorgeously, as he might, with a light Target in her hand. She danced the dance called *Pyrrhic* with great agilitie and nimblenesse. Hereupon there arose a great clapping of hands, and the *Paphlagonians* asked whether women also were their companions in fight. To whom answer was made, that the women were they, who beat the King of *Persia* out of the *Grecian* Campe. This was the end of that nights sport. The next day they brought the Ambassadors to the Army: and the Souldiers decreed, that the *Paphlagonians* should doe them no wrong, nor they any to the *Paphlagonians*: So the Ambassadors departed. The *Grecians*, when they imagined they had sufficient store of shipping gathered together, went aboard, and sailing forward that day and night with a faire gale, they left *Paphlagonia* on their left hand, and the next day they came as farre as *Sinope*, and cast anchor before *Harmene*, a Port of the *Sinopians*. The *Sinopians* inhabite a part of *Paphlagonia*, and are a Colonie of *Milesians*. They sent hospitall gifts to the *Grecians*, 3000 *Medimnes* of meale, of wine 1500 *Amphores*. Thither came *Cherisophus* with some gallies, which he had prouided. The Souldiers expected him, and were in hope, that when he came, he would bring them some good tidings. He brought them only newes, that *Anaxibius* the Admirall, and the rest commended them much, and that *Anaxibius* promised they should haue ready pay, if they would come out of *Pontus*. The army remained at *Harmene* fūe dayes. The nearer they seemed to come to

Greece,

Greece, the more carefull they were to get, and to furnish themselves with something before they came home. They were of opinion therefore, that if they did chuse one Generall, that that one should haue a more vniforme; and a more absolute command ouer the Army, both by night and by day, than if the command were in many hands. And if any thing were to be kept secret, it might be better concealed; if to be prevented, it should receiue the lesse hindrance. For there needed no conference, and the resolution of one might quickly be put in execution, whereas heretofore all things passed by pluralitie of voices of the Coronels. Being in this conceit, they turned to *Xenophon*, and the Capitaines comming to him, told what the affection of the Army was, and euery of them, out of their loue, perswaded him to take vpon him this command. *Xenophon* himselfe was desirous of the place, thinking that both his honour might hereby grow greater, and his name more esteemed both with his friends, and Cite; and it might fall out that he might be occasion of some good to the Army. These thoughts lifted him vp to desire the Generallship. But when he weighed in his minde, that no man foreknew the euent of things to come, and that hereby he might hazard his former reputation, he began to be in doubt; and being not able to resolve, it seemed best to counsell with the gods. He called therefore to him two Priests, and sacrificed to *Iupiter*, the King of gods, who by the Oracle of *Delphos* was appointed his Councellour in matters to come; and hee beleued that the dreame, which he saw, when hee first was chosen Coronell of the Army, proceeded from *Iupiter*. And he remembred, that when he went out of *Ephesus* to follow *Cyrus*, an Eagle croaked at his right hand sitting on the ground, which the sooth-sayer, that accompanied him at that time, said to be a great augury portending more, than the estate of a priuate man, and that it was illustrious, but yet notwithstanding laborious. For birds vse not to molest the Eagle by falling vpon her, saue onely when she sitteth on the ground. Further, that no great profit was signified by the token; because the Eagle taketh her prey rather, when she is on wing. The god therefore, when he sacrificed, foretold apparantly, that he was neither to seeke after the Generalls place, nor yet to accept of it, if it were offered him. This was the issue of that businesse. Now the Army being assembled, it was the opinion of all, that one Generall was to be chosen, and their choice inclined to *Xenophon*; who when he saw, if they went to the election, their resolution would be to giue him the place, he stood vp, and spake thus: I (ô Souldiers) if I be a man, haue cause to be glad of this honour, which you offer vnto me, and to giue you thanks, and to pray to God, that any occasion may be ministred, whereby I may be able to doe you seruice. But to chuse me your Generall, a *Lacedemonian* being present, seemeth neither for your, nor yet for mine owne auail; in as much as, if hereafter you shall happen to stand in need of them, you will be disappointed of your hopes that way. Besides, I thinke it not safe for my selfe to enter into that course; for I doe see, that they neuer gaue ouer the warre

P

One Generall:

The affection
of the Army to
Xenophon.

Iupiter.

Θεοπροφητεία.
Bird-gazers.

*Iupiter*s answer.
Xenophon refuseth to be Generall.

cc

cc

cc

cc

cc

cc

cc

against

against my Countrey, vntill they made the whole Citie confesse, that the
Lacedemonians were also their Commanders; after which confession,
 they laid downe their Armes, and proceeded no further in besieging
 the Citie. If then these things being so, I shall seeme, as much as in
 me lieth, to weaken their authoritie, I cannot be ignorant, how quick-
 ly I shall be brought to acknowledge mine error. And whereas you
 are of opinion, that lesse sedition and disobedience will grow out of
 the command of one, than of many, vnderstand from me, that
 whomsoever you choose you shall not finde me discontent or disobedi-
 ent. For I hold it for a generall maxime in warre, that whosoever he be,
 which behaueth himselfe seditiously against his Commander, behaueth
 himselfe seditiously against his owne safetie. But in case you chuse me, I
 shall not maruell, if a discontent arise in some mindes both against you,
 and against my selfe. After *Xenophon* had ended his speech, many more
 arose, and said, that he ought not to refuse the Generals place; And *Agasias*
 the *Stymphalian* replied, that it was a thing ridiculous, that the *La-*
cedemonians should not as well be angry, if at a Feast another than a *La-*
cedemonian were by the Guests chosen for their Gouverneur. For if
 things run in this course, quoth he, it shall be vnlawfull for vs to be Cap-
 taines, because we are *Arcadians*. Here a murmur arose thorow the
 whole assembly approving the speech of *Agasias*. *Xenophon* perceiuing,
 that more was to be said, added thus much: That you may (ô Souldiers)
 vnderstand the depth of this businesse, I sweare vnto you by all the gods
 and goddesses, that after I was informed of your minds and inclinati-
 on, I by sacrifice enquired, whether it would be behouefull for you to
 bestow vpon me, and me to accept this command, or otherwise; and the
 gods so answered in the sacrifice, that it might easily appeare euen to a
 man of small skill, that I was not to take the place vpon me. So they
 chose *Cherisophus*. *Cherisophus* being chosen proceeded into the middest
 and spake thus: You know (ô Souldiers) that, albeit you had chosea
 another, you should haue found no opposition in me. But it falleth out
 well for *Xenophon*, that he is not chosen. For *Dexippus* accused him not
 long since to *Anaxibius*, all he could, my selfe being present and stopping
 his mouth. He said, he thought, that *Xenophon* had rather be ioined in
 command with *Timasion*, who was a *Dardanian*, and one of *Clearchus*
 his Souldiers, than with him, who was a *Lacedemonian*. But since you
 haue made choise of me, quoth he, I also will endeouour to doe you all
 the seruice I can. And you against the morning euerie man so order
 his affaires, that he may be readie to saile away, if the wind be faire. Our
 journey shall be to *Heraclea*; and being there we will aduise, what is fur-
 ther to be done. The next day they set saile with a faire wind, and ran
 along the Coast by the space of two daies following. In sailing they
 came by *Iasons* shore, where the Ship *Argo* is said to haue anchored, and
 by the mouthes of these Riues; First of *Thermodon*, then of *Halys*, last-
 ly of *Parthenius*, by which after they had passed, they arrived at *Heraclea*
 a *Grecian* Citie, and a Colonie of the *Megarians*, situate in the territorie
 of

Peninsula that
 is ioined to the
 continent with
 a neck of Land
 only.

of the *Maryandens*, and came to anchor neere the *Acherousian Cherone-*
sus. There *Hercules* is reported to haue descended to the dog, *Cerberus*,
 of which descent the markes are yet shewen, the depth of the place be-
 ing more than two Furlongs. Hither the *Heracleans* sent hospitall gifts
 to the *Grecians*, to wit, 3000. *Medimmes* of barley meale, 2000. *Amphors*
 of wine, 20 oxen, and an hundred sheepe. The riuer called *Lycus*, hauing
 two *Plethers* in bredth, conueieth his streame thorow this Territo-
 ry. Here the Souldiers assembled together, consulting about the remain-
 der of their iourney, and whether it were better to proceed out of *Pon-*
tus by land or by sea; and *Lycan* the *Achaian* stood vp and said: I won-
 der (ô Souldiers) at the Coronels, that they go not about to make pro-
 uision of victuall for the Army. For the hospitall gifts will not serue vs
 about three daies, neither is there any place, whither we may goe out,
 and furnish our selues. Therefore it seemeth good to me, that you de-
 mand no lesse, then 3000. *Cyzicens* of the *Heracleans*. Another said, that
 a monthes pay (no lesse then 10000. *Cyzicens*) was to be demanded, and
 that while we sate in counsell to know their answer, Ambassadors were
 forthwith to be dispatched to the Citie, and thereupon further aduice to
 be taken. Hereupon they first propounded *Cherisophus* for an Ambassa-
 dour, because he was their Generall; some also named *Xenophon*. They
 both opposed strongly, and were of opinion, that no extortion was to
 be vsed to force any thing from a *Grecian* Citie, being also their friend.
 Therefore when they seemed vnwilling, the Army sent *Lycan* the *Acha-*
ian, *Callimachus* the *Parrhasian*, and *Agasias* the *Stymphalian*, who going to
 the Citie deliuered the decree of the Army; and *Lycan* is reported to
 haue vsed threatening words, if things were not performed according to
 the desire of the Army. The *Heracleans* hearing the propositions, and we-
 red, they would consider; and presently they gathered their goods out
 of the fields, and appointed a market within the Citie, and the gates
 were shut, and armes scene vpon the walles. The authors of these trou-
 bles accused the Coronels, as though they were cause of the ill successe.
 Their words were, that it was a shame, that one *Athenian* should haue
 command ouer the *Peloponesians* and *Lacedemonians*, especially such a
 one, as had brought no forces to the Army. That they had the paines,
 and other the profit; and euen till this present were the workers of the
 common safetie. For the *Arcadians* and *Achaans* were those that bore
 the burthen, the rest of the Army was nothing (and in truth the *Arcadi-*
ans and *Achaans* were more than halfe the Army:) If they were wise
 therefore, standing close to themselues, and chusing Commanders out
 of their owne people, they should goe forward in the iourney apart, and
 endeouour to enrich themselves by some meanes or other. This was de-
 creed; and those *Arcadians* and *Achaans*, that were vnder the command
 of *Cherisophus*, forsaking him and *Xenophon*, associated themselues to the
 rest, and they all chose ten Coronels out of their owne bodie, and de-
 creed, that whatsoeuer the plurality of voices of these ten should resolute
 vpon, it should stand good and effectually, and be put in execution. The

A *Medimne* is
 about one of
 our buthels.
Amphora was a
 vessel that con-
 tained thirtie
 gallons and a
 halfe.
 200. Foot.

A *Cyzicen* was
 in value about
 18. s.

Sedition of the
Arcadians and
Achaans.
 cc

Their number
 was 4500.
 cc

The Army di-
 uided,
ganyde.
 Euery one had
 450 vnder his
 command.

Generall-ship therefore of *Cherisophus* was dissolved within six or seven daies, after he was chosen. *Xenophon* notwithstanding would have proceeded in the journey with them, thinking it more safe so to doe, than to trauell euery man by himselfe alone: But *Neon* vnderstanding by *Cherisophus*, that *Cleander*, the Gouvernour of *Bizantium*, was determined with his Gallies to make ouer to the Hauen of *Calpe*, perswaded him to keepe his owne forces by him, and to iourney apart; and further, counselled him to conceale it from the rest, to the end, that they and their Souldiers alone might be transported in the Gallies; and *Cherisophus* partly discontented with that, which had passed, and partly out of a hatred against the Army, gaue him liberty to doe, as he thought best. From that time forward *Xenophon* sought to saile away, and to depart from the Army. But sacrificing to *Hercules* the Guide, and asking of him counsell, whether it should be better for him to follow the warre with the remnant of Souldiers vnder his command, or to depart, the god signified by the sacrifice, that he should continue his command, and not depart. So the Army was diuided into three parts. The *Arcadians* and *Achaans* being more than 4500. all heauie armed; *Cherisophus* hauing 1300. armed, and 700. *Peltasts*, who were the *Thracians*, that followed *Clearchus*: *Xenophon* 1700. armed, and 300. *Peltasts*, and he alone had horse amonnting to the number of fortie. The *Arcadians* getting shipping of the *Heracleans*, sailed away first, of purpose, that falling suddenly vpon the *Bithinians*, they might preuent the rest, and make the greatest prey. They landed at the Hauen *Calpe*, which lieth in a manner in the midst of *Thrace*. *Cherisophus* marched on foot thorow the Countrey, beginning at *Heraclea*, and as soone as he entred into *Thrace*, he led along by the Sea-coast, for he was now sicke. *Xenophon* taking shipping, landed in the confines of *Thrace*, and of the *Heraclean* Countrey, and marched thorow the midst of the Land: Thus therefore haue we declared, in what manner the command of *Cherisophus* was wholly dissolved, & the army of the *Grecians* distracted into parcells. The course, that euery one held was this. The *Arcadians* after they had landed by night at the Hauen of *Calpe*, advanced forthwith to the next villages situate about fiftie Furlongs from the Sea: When day-light appeared, euery Coronell led his Diuision or Regiment to a village. If the village seemed any thing great, the Coronels allotted two Diuisions to it. They agreed also vpon a hill, to which they were all to retire, and because they fell vpon the Countrey suddenly, they tooke many prisoners, and brought in many sheepe. The *Thracians*, that escaped, assembled together, and many being taken prisoners shifted out of the *Grecians* hands, because they were *Peltasts*, the *Grecians* armed; and being now gathered together in good number, they first charged the Diuision of *Smicretes*, one of the *Arcadian* Coronels, as he was retiring to the place appointed, being heauie laden with prey. The *Grecians* both marched, and fought at the same time, till they came to a hollow bank't brooke, where in their passage they were put to flight by the *Barbarians*, *Smicretes*, and his whole band were slaine.

Another

Xenophons zeale
without know-
ledge.

The Hauen
Calpe.

The seuerall
marches of the
army being se-
uered.
Of the *Arcadi-
ans*.

spanzōr.

Another regiment of one of the ten Coronels, whose name was *Hegesander*, had but 8. only left alieue by the *Barbarians*, which 8. were saued, with *Hegesander* himselfe. The rest of the Captains came to the hill, some with much ado, some easily. The *Thracians* encouraged with this good hand sell, made outcries one to another, & flocked together in multitudes by night, & as soone as it was day, they ordered many horse and *Peltasts* in a circle about the hill, where the *Grecians* encamped; and still more and more came running together, and without danger to themselves, charged the *Grecian* armed (for the *Grecians* had neither Archer, nor Darter, nor Horse) but the *Thracians* running forth, and spurring their horse close vp to the *Grecians*, cast darts at them, and being charged retired and easily saued themselves by flight, and some of them gaue on in one place, some in another, so that many of the *Grecians* were wounded, no one of the enemies hurt. Being thus not able to moue out of the place, where they stood, they were also at last debarred from water by the *Thracians*, and reduced to that extremitie, that they were faine to sue for composition. In the treatie all other things were easily agreed vpon, but the *Thracians* would giue no pledges, as the *Grecians* required, which was the stay of further proceeding. In this plight were the affaires of the *Arcadians*. *Cherisophus* marching forward along the Sea coast without danger, was by this time come to the Hauen of *Calpe*. But *Xenophon* held on thorow the midst of the Countrey, and as he marched his Horse-men scouting before chanced vpon Embassadors going, it was not knowne whither; who being brought to *Xenophon*, he asked them, whether they could tell him tidings of any *Grecian* Armie self-where. They related vnto him all that had hapned, and that at this instant they were assaulted, and hardly laid vnto vpon the hill, and that all the *Thracians* of the countrey had encompassed them round. The Ambassadors were put in safe custodie, to the end to vse them for Guides, when need required. Afterward setting out 10 Scouts, he called the Souldiers together, and thus spake vnto them: The *Arcadians* (O Souldiers) are some of them slaine, the rest being retired to a hill, besieged and assaulted. For my part, I am of opinion, if they perish, we can finde no safety, the enemy being so many, and so much incouraged with the happinesse of this successe. It is therefore best to giue them aid with all speed, that if they be alieue, wee may loyne with them in fight against the enemy, and not be left to runne the danger alone. And for the present, let vs march on till supper time, and then set downe with our Campe. And while we march let *Timasion* with the horse scout before, casting an eye toward vs alwaies, and giuing aduertisement of all occurrence, that we be ignorant of nothing that may concerne vs. He sent out likewise some of the best footmen of his light-armed toward the flanks of the Armie, and the tops of the hills, willing them to giue intelligence of what they saw. Hee commanded also to set fire vpon all, that was apt to take fire. For, quoth he, we cannot escape any way, the distance backe againe to *Heraclea* being great, and the march forward to *Chrysopolis* great, and the enemy neere at hand.

The *Thracians*
besiege the *Arcadians*.

Of *Cherisophus*.
Of *Xenophon*.

Xenophon hath
newes of the
distresse of the
Arcadians.

His counsell
for their re-
leeffe.

cc

cc

cc

cc

cc

cc

cc

cc

cc

cc

cc

“ hand. The way is shortest to the Hauē of *Calpe*, whither we imagine
 “ that *Cherisophus* is come, at least if he be in safety. And yet are we not
 “ to hope for any shipping to carry vs from thence, and resting there wee
 “ shall not finde so much as a daies prouision. Now in case those, that are
 “ besieged were lost, it would be more dangerous for vs to hazard with
 “ *Cherisophus* his Souldiers alone. But if they be succoured, and freed from
 “ this danger, and all of vs assembled together, we shall in common dis-
 “ pute our safety the better. You are therefore to march on with resolu-
 “ tion, either now honourably to die, or else to performe a most noble act,
 “ and worthy of eternall memory, namely, to saue so great a number of
 “ *Grecians*, that are in icopardy to be cast away. And it may be, that God
 “ hath so disposed of this businesse, to humble these high-minded men,
 “ wife in their owne conceits, and to honour vs, who in all our actions
 “ take our beginnings from the gods. You are then to follow your Lea-
 “ ders, and to giue heed to that which is commanded you. Hauing said
 “ thus much he led on. The horsemen dispersing themselves as much as
 “ was conuenient, put all in a flame, as they went forward: and the *Pel-*
 “ *safts* hauing gained the tops of the Hills, burnt all that would take fire, as
 “ did the Armie also, where they found any thing left vnburnt. So the
 “ whole countrey seemed to be on a light fire, and the Armie to be great.
 “ When it was time, they ascended vp to a hill, and quartered there. From
 “ thence they might discern the enemies fires (for they were not distant
 “ about 40 furlongs) and themselves kindled as many fires as they could.
 “ When they had supped, the word was giuen to quench and put out all
 “ the fires, and hauing placed their guards, they gaue themselves to sleepe.
 “ By breake of day they made their prayers to the gods, and ordering their
 “ troops for fight, marched forward with all speed. *Timasion* and the horse-
 “ men hauing with them the Guides, and spurring on, were, before they
 “ were aware, vpon the hill, where the *Grecians* were besieged, but neither
 “ saw friends nor enemies forces (whereof they aduertised *Xenophon* and
 “ the Armie) only they found a few old women, and men, and some
 “ sheepe and oxen left behinde. And first, that which hapned, seemed a
 “ maruell: Afterward they vnderstood from them that were left, that the
 “ *Thracians* departed away in the euening, the *Grecians* as soone as it was
 “ day; but whither they were gone, no man knew. *Xenophon* vpon these
 “ tidings dined, and trussing vp his baggage marched away with intent in
 “ all haste possible to ioyne with those that were at the Hauē of *Calpe*. In
 “ their march they might perceiue the tract of footing of the *Arcadians*
 “ and *Achaens* in the way which led to *Calpe*, and meeting together they
 “ gladly saw one another, and saluted as brethren. The *Arcadians* asked
 “ *Xenophon* his souldiers, why they put out their fires. For we thought, said
 “ they, at the first, when we saw no fires, that you marched against the
 “ enemy by night, and the enemy, as we conceived, fearing the same,
 “ arose with their Campe. For it was about that time, that they departed.
 “ But when you came not forward, and the time was now past, we imagi-
 “ ned, that hearing our distresse, you hasted all you could to the Sea side
 “ for

Furning the
enemies coun-
trei to make
shew of a great
Armie.

Fiue mile.

The siege rai-
sed.

Xenophon ouer-
taketh the *Arc-*
adians.

They ioyne in
marching.

for feare. We therefore thought it good not to leave you, and thereupon
 came also hither. So this day they encamped vpon the Sea shore neere
 the Hauē. The place, which they call the Hauē of *Calpe*, lieth in
 that *Thrace*, which is in *Asia*. *Thrace* it selfe beginneth from the mouth of
Pontus, and stretcheth to *Heraclea* on the right hand as a man saileth to
Pontus. The distance betwixt *Byzantium* and *Heraclea* is as much, as a
 Galley can fetch vp with oares in a very long day. In the way there is
 no friend or *Grecian* City, but *Thracians* or *Bithynians* alone, who, if they
 lay hands vpon any *Grecian* either cast ashore by shipwracke, or com-
 ming thither by other occasion, are reported to vse them with all de-
 spight and villany. The Hauē of *Calpe* lieth in the mid-way to them
 that saile from *Heraclea* to *Byzantium*, or contrariwise from *Byzantium* to
Heraclea. The land beareth out into the Sea; and that part, which stret-
 cheth into the Sea, is a craggy rocke, of the height (where it is least) of
 20 fathoms. The necke of land, that ioyneth to the Continent, is at
 least foure plethers in bredth, and the space of land within the necke
 sufficient to giue habitation to 10000 men. The Hauē lieth vnder the
 rocke, hauing the shore trending to the West. Within it there is a plen-
 tiffull fountaine of sweet water running along the Sea, but so that the
 place may command it, and it bringeth forth both much other timber
 hard by the Sea, and besides much that is fit for the building of ships.
 As for the mountaine that ouersadoweth the Hauē, as it runneth 20
 furlongs into the mid-land, it is pure earth without stones, but to-
 ward the Sea, more than 20 furlongs, it is rough with many and all
 kinde of great trees. The rest of the Land is beautifull and large, and
 there are many Villages in it, and well inhabited. The countrey bringeth
 forth barley, and wheat, and pulse-corne of all sorts, and Bucke, and Se-
 samum, and figs sufficiently, and many Vines pleasant in taste, and all
 other kinds of fruit, excepting only Oliues. This is the nature of the
 Soile. The Armie incamped by the Sea-side. In the Towne they would
 not quarter, being of opinion, they were fraudulently brought thither
 by some, that had an intention to plant a Colony there. For the most part
 of the Souldiers sailed out of *Greece* to follow this warre, not for
 want of meanes to liue by, but hearing of the bounty of *Cyrus*, some
 brought to his seruice men that had consumed their estates, some other
 runne away from their fathers and mothers, and some left behind them
 their children, as minding to enrich them at their returne. For they heard,
 that all that followed *Cyrus* gathered mountaines of wealth. Being peo-
 ple of this condition, they desired to returne into *Greece* in safety. When
 the day of assembly of the Armie for this purpose was now come, *Xe-*
nophon sacrificed about the issuing of it out of the Campe, because they
 must needs be led out to make prouision. His purpose was also to bury
 their dead. The sacrifice being fauourable, the *Arcadians* also followed,
 and they buried the most part of the dead, euery man where he fell; for
 it was now the fift day since they were slaine, so that there was no possi-
 bilitie to conueigh them from thence. And bringing some together
 out

There are two
Thracians, one in
Europt, the o-
ther in *Asia*.
In *Europtan*
Thrace standeth
Constantinople,
in the other
was the Hauē
of *Calpe*.
The barbarous
cruelty of the
Thracians.
A description
of *Calpe*.

40 yards.

400 foot.

The Hauē.

Two mile and
a halie.

The quality of
the *Grecians*
that followed
this warre.

A decree not
to separate
their Forces
hereafter.

The death of
Cherisophus.

A meanes to
still suspicion.

out of the high-waies, they buried them according to their meanes, as decently, as they could; and for those, they found nor, they raised a great emptie monument, and kindled a Funerall fire, and laid vpon the monument Crownes of flowers. Hauing performed these Rites, they returned to the Campe, and after Supper gaue themselves to rest. The next day the Souldiers assembled. Captaine *Agasias* the *Stymphalian*, and Captaine *Jeronymus* the *Elian*, and other the eldest of the *Arcadians* were the cause of this assembly. They made a Decree, that if any man hereafter propounded to separate and diuide the Armie, he should be punished with death; and that the Armie should depart out of the Countrey in the manner it was wont, and that the former Coronels should command. *Cherisophus* was already dead by drinking a medicine in his ague, and *Neon* the *Asinite* was substituted in his place. After this *Xenophon* stood vp and said: It seemeth (fellow Souldiers) that the rest of our iourney is to be performed by Land, in regard we haue no shipping; and hauing likewise no prouision, necessitie forceth vs to be readie to march. We therefore the Coronels will offer sacrifice; As for you, you are, if euer heretofore, to prepare your selues to fight, inasmuch as the enemy hath gathered courage. So the Coronels sacrificed taking to them *Arxion* the *Arcadian* Southsaier. For *Silanus* the *Ambraciot* had stollen away in a Ship of *Heraclea*, which he hired. They sacrificed about their departure, but the entrailes of the sacrifice were not faire. They stayed therefore that day. There were some, that durst giue out, that *Xenophon* intending to plant in that place, had perswaded the Southsaier to say, that the sacrifice allowed not of their departure. Hereupon *Xenophon* caused Proclamation to be made, that the next morning euerie one that list might be present at the sacrifice, and if there were any Southsaier amongst them, he commanded him to come and view the entrailes, and so sacrificed in the presence of many. When they had now thrice sacrificed about their departure, the entrailes assented not. The Souldiers were ill apaid herewith. For their prouision which they brought with them, failed, and there was no Market to be had. Hereupon, when they againe assembled, *Xenophon* spake thus: The sacrifices, as your selues are eie-witnesses, are not fauourable to our departure, and I see you are destitute of victuall, wherefore I hold it necessarie to aske counsell by sacrifice about this matter alone. Then one of them arising, said: It is not without cause, that the sacrifice crosseth our departure. For, as I heard of one, that by chance came by Ship hither yesterday, *Cleander* the Governour of *Byzantium*, is about to crosse ouer to vs with Ships and Gallies. Hereupon it seemed good to all to remaine in the place. But yet they were forced by necessitie to fall out into the Countrey for victuall and prouision for the Campe, and sacrifice was offered hereabout three times, which notwithstanding opposed their going out. They came then to the Tent of *Xenophon* and told him of their wants. I may not, quoth he, leade you out, vnlesse the sacrifice be fauourable. The next day they sacrificed againe, and because they were perplexed,

perplexed, and the businesse touched all, well-nigh the whole Armie encircled the sacrifice. And now there was no more sacrifice left. The Coronels therefore, albeit they led not out the Armie, yet did they call an assembly; and *Xenophon* said: It may be the enemy is gathered together, and we shall be driuen to fight by necessitie. If therefore leauing our baggage in this place of strength, we issue out prepared for fight, and then offer sacrifice, perhaps the sacrifice will giue better allowance. The Souldiers hearing this cried out, that there was no need of leading them out, but willed them to renew the sacrifice with all speed. There were now no Sheepe to be had, and they were faine to buy Oxen out of the Waïne to offer in sacrifice. And *Xenophon* desired *Cleanor* the *Arcadian* to gather vp his spirits and be in a readinesse, if the sacrifice portended any good: but this sacrifice was also crosse. *Neon* was Coronell of that part of the Armie, which *Cherisophus* commanded. He, when he saw the Souldiers discontented with their wants, desirous to gratifie them, finding an *Heracleon*, who affirmed that he knew Villages at hand, from whence prouision might be had, made proclamation, that euerie one, that would, might goe abroad for prouision, & proffered himselfe to be their Leader. There issued therefore out of the Campe to the number of two thousand, with Darts, Bladders, Bags, and other Vessels. After they came into the Villages, and were dispersed in rifling, the Horse-men of *Pharnabazus* fell vpon them (for they gaue aid to the *Bithynians*, desirous with the *Bithynians* to hinder the *Grecians* from entring into *Phrygia*, if they could) These Horse-men killed no lesse, than fise hundred *Grecians*, the rest fled vp into a Mountaine, and one of them, that fled, brought newes hereof to the Campe. *Xenophon* because the sacrifice was not agreeable that day, taking an Ox out of the Waïne (for there was no other to kill) offered it, and went to the rescous, taking with him all the Souldiers vnder fiftie yeeres of age; and bringing those off, that were left aliue, returned to the Campe about Sun-set, and sat downe to Supper, being full of grieve and sorrow for that, which had happened. Vpon the suddaine some of the *Bithynians*, thorow the thickets falling vpon the out-Guards, killed a few of the *Grecians*, and chased the rest to the Campe, and a great cry being raised, the whole Armie ran to Armes. It seemed not safe to pursue the enemy, or to moue the Armie by night, the Countrey being full of thickets. They watched therefore that night in Armes, putting forth Guards sufficient to fight with the enemy, if need were. So was the night spent. In the morning the Coronels led into a stronger place, and the Souldiers followed with their Armes and baggage, and before it was Dinner time they cast a Trench all along the Face of the Campe, which led into the Countrey, and strengthened all the Rampier with Palizadoes, leauing only three Gates to passe in and out the Campe. In the meane time came a Ship from *Heraclea* fraught with Barley-meale, and with beasts for sacrifice, & with Wine. *Xenophon* rising early in the morning, sacrificed about issuing out of the Campe, and the entrailes of the first beast offered were faire. The sacrifice being ended,

Neons rashnesse.

And ill successe.

Pharnabazus
Lieutenant in
Phrygia to the
King of *Persia*.

A difference of
age in Souldiers.

The enemy
beats in the
Grecian guards.

Fortification
of the Campe.

A doubt to en-
ter a wood.

he

These

5

Passing a
Wood.

The Grecians
moue against
the enemy.

οἱ ἑλλήνων
ἰσχυροί.
The demea-
ning of their
pikes.
Their Pelasts
repulsed.

ἡ δὲ δεξιὰ
ἐκείνων.
A charge.

A second
charge.

Chace giuen
by the Pelasts.

7 mile and a
half.

These words he spake riding in haste along the Front; and withall led on the *Phalange*, and ordered the *Pelasts* on either wing thereof, and so went against the enemy. He also commanded them to carry their pikes on their right shoulders, till he gaue a signe with the trumpet; then charging them to follow leisurely, and no man to giue chafe running. Then was the word giuen, *Iupiter* the sauour and *Hercules* the guide. The enemy kept his ground, trusting to the strength of the place. When they came neere one to another the *Grecian Pelasts* giuing a shout, ran forth against the enemy without command, and were encountred and put to flight by the *Bithynian* horse and foot. But when the *Phalange* of the armed marching speedily came vp, and the trumpet sounded, and they sang the *Paan*, and afterward gaue a shout, and charged their pikes, the enemy forsooke the place and fled; and *Tamafian* with his horse, which were not many in number, killed as many as he could. So the left wing of the enemy, vpon which the *Grecian* horsemen followed, was quickly dispersed; but the right being not so much pressed in the chafe, stood still vpon a hill. Whom when the *Grecians* saw remaining in the field, they thought they might safely charge them, and without all danger. Singing therefore the *Paan*, they aduanced against them. But the enemy presently tooke themselves to their feet. The *Pelasts* gaue chafe, till that wing was also scattered. Few of them were slaine, because of the multitude of the enemies horse, who put the *Pelasts* in feare of following too farre. The horsemen of *Pharnabazum* stood yet vnited together, to whom the *Bithynian* horsemen gathered, and from a hill beheld, what was done in the field. Which when the *Grecians* saw, albeit they were sore trauelled, notwithstanding they thought it conuenient to seeke them, as they could, lest haply taking heart, they might be againe emboldned. Therefore embattelling themselves, they led against them. The enemy seeing them comming cast themselves downe the steepe places no otherwise, than if horsemen had followed them in chafe. A Forrest receiued them that fled, which the *Grecians* were not acquainted with. Wherefore night drawing on, they returned, and when they came to the place where the battels first ioyned, they erected a Trophey, and so about Sunne-set retired to the Sea; for the Campe was about 60 furlongs off. Henceforward the enemies began to looke to themselves, and remoued as farre from thence as they could, as well the inhabitants, as their goods and substance. The *Grecians* lay still expecting *Cleander*, and the Gallies, and Ships, which they thought would come. And going forth euery day without feare, hauing with them their carriage-beasts and slaues, they brought in wheat, barley, wine, pulse-corne, bucke, and figs. For the Territorie bare all fruit plentifully, Oliues only excepted. And as long as the Armie kept within the Campe, any man might goe forth to spoile, and deteine that he found for his priuate vse. But a decree was made, that when the whole Armie went abroad, whatsoever was taken by any man going apart, it should be to the vse of the generalitie.

Now

Now was there plenty of all things. For prouision came from the *Grecian* Cities on euery hand, and they that arriued there by ship, came willingly on shore, because they vnderstood a Citie was there planting, and that it was a good Hauen; and many of the enemies being neere borderers sent to *Xenophon* (for they heard that he was the planter) demanding vpon what conditions they might be receiued into his friendship; whom *Xenophon* shewed to the Souldiers. About this time *Cleander* came with two Gallies, but with neuer a ship. It fell out so, that at his arriual the Army was abroad, and some gone into the plaine countrey to prey, other to the mountaines, and had gotten together many sheepe; and fearing they would be taken away, they spake to *Dexippus* (who stole the ship of 50 oares from the Armie, when it lay at *Trapezond*) and praied him to keep them, and to retaine part for himselfe, and restore the rest to them. He presently beat away the Souldiers that stood thereabout, albeit they told him, that the prey pertained to the generality, and immediately went to *Cleander*, and informed him that they sought to steale the sheepe. *Cleander* commanded, that whosoever he was that went about to take them away, should be brought vnto him. *Dexippus* laid hold vpon one, and began to leade him toward *Cleander*, whom *Agasias* by chance comming that way, rescued, because he was one of his company. The rest of the Souldiers, that were present, cast stones at *Dexippus*, calling him Traitor. Many Mariners of the Gallies, being affrighted, ranne to the Sea; and *Cleander* himselfe shifted away. *Xenophon* and the other Coronels pacified the Souldiers, and told *Cleander*, it was no matter of danger, and that the decree of the Armie was cause of that, that hapned. *Cleander* incensed by *Dexippus*, and of himselfe discontented, because it might be perceived, that he was in feare, said, he would saile away, and cause proclamation to be made, that no *Grecian* Citie should receiue them, as being common enemies to all; for at that time the *Lacedemonians* commanded all *Greece*. This seemed a hard and dangerous thing to the *Grecians*, and they desired him not to doe so. He said, he would relent vpon no other condition, than that the caster of the first stone, and the party that made the rescous, should be deliuered into his hands. *Agasias* was the man he sought, who had beene a friend to *Xenophon* euen to the last; which was the cause that *Dexippus* accused him. The Commanders knowing not what to doe, called an assembly of the Armie. Many made small account of *Cleander*: *Xenophon* thought the businesse to be of no meane consequence, and arising spake thus: Fellow Souldiers, if *Cleander* departing hence, carry that minde toward vs, which hee professeth, I take it to be a matter not to be contemned. For now the *Grecian* Cities are at hand, and the *Lacedemonians* are rulers of *Greece*; and euery *Lacedemonian* of power sufficient to worke any City to what he list. If therefore he first shut vs out of *Byzantium*, and signifie to the rest of the Governours not to receiue vs into their Cities; as being disobedient to the *Lacedemonians*, and not to be governed, this rumor will come to the eares

Cleander Go-
uernour of *By-
zance*, now *Con-
stantinople*.

Dexippus his
fraud and
wrong.

He laieth hold
vpon a Sould-
ier.
Rescous of the
Souldier.

Cleanders feare
and threat-
ning.

Agasias.

The Souldiers
contemne *Cle-
ander*.
Xenophons
speech to the
contrary.

“

“

“

“

eares of *Anaxibius* the Admirall, so that it will be hard for vs either to
 stay here, or to saile away. For at this time the *Lacedemonians* haue the
 Souereigntie of *Greece*, both by Sea and Land. It is not fit therefore,
 that for one or two mens sakes, we the rest be debarred from *Greece*;
 but we are rather to obey, whatsoeuer they command. For our Cities,
 from whence euery one of vs is, are vnder their subiection. I therefore
 (for I vnderstand that *Dexippus* informeth *Cleander*, that *Agasias* would
 not haue done this, vnlesse I had bid him) I, I say, cleare both you, and
Agasias of this fault, if *Agasias* will say, that I am the cause thereof, and
 I condemne my selfe, and will willingly vndergoe all extremitie of pu-
 nishment, if it may appeare that I were the beginner either of casting of
 stones, or of any other violence. I say further, if any man else be accu-
 sed by *Cleander*, he ought, whosoever he be, to yeeld himselfe to *Clean-
 ders* iudgement. So shall you be free from all fault. But as matters goe
 now, it will be hard, if thinking to receiue praise and honour in *Greece*,
 we in stead thereof shall not be in the case that other are, but be exclu-
 ded out of all *Grecian* Cities. After this *Agasias* stood vp and said: I (&
 Souldiers) sweare by the gods and goddesse, that neither *Xenophon*, nor
 any other willed mee to take away the man; but when I saw an hon-
 est and worthy Souldier of mine led away by *Dexippus*, whose trait-
 terous dealing toward you, you well know, I thought it a matter not to
 be suffered. And albeit, I confesse, that I rescued him, yet would I not,
 that you should deliuer me vp. I my selfe, as *Xenophon* aduise, will
 yeeld my selfe into the hands of *Cleander*, to vse me at his discretion.
 Neither would I for this cause haue you make warre with the *Lacedemo-
 nians*, nor haue any man impeached to saue himselfe, where he list. Only
 I desire you to make choise of some of your selues to send with me to
Cleander, who in case I omit any thing, may speake and doe, what they
 thinke auailable in my behalfe. The Army gaue him leaue to choise
 whom he thought good, and he chose the Coronels. So *Agasias* and
 the Coronels, and the man that was rescued went together toward *Clean-
 der*; to whom the Coronels vsed this speech: The Army (O *Clean-
 der*) hath sent vs vnto you, and desire you, if you thinke them all guilty, to
 vse your owne iudgement in punishing all: if one or two, they are wil-
 ling to put them into your hands to be iudged by you. If therefore you
 lay the fault vpon any of vs, we here present our selues vnto you; if vpon
 any man else, we desire you to name him. For no man shall be with-held
 from you, that will acknowledge our command. Then *Agasias* stepped
 forth and said: I am the man, *Cleander*, which tooke this Souldier from
Dexippus, who was leading him away, and willed stones to be cast at
Dexippus. For I knew this man to be a worthy Souldier, and that *Dexip-
 pus* being by the Army chosen Captaine of a Galley of 50 oares, which
 wee craued from the *Trapezuntians* to gather other ships to saue our
 selues in, both runne away from vs, and also betrayed the Army, with
 which himselfe was faued. And by his meanes, we not only defrauded
 the *Trapezuntians* of their ship, but incurred the imputation of vniust
 men,

The Souldier
 rescued, and
 the rescuer
 yeelded vp to
Cleander.

Agasias in his
 owne defence.

Exceptions
 against *Dexip-
 pus*.

men, and as much as lay in him we all perished. For he heard as well as
 we, how impossible it was marching on foot to passe ouer the riuers
 that lay in our way, and to come in safety into *Greece*. He therefore being
 such a one, I tooke the Souldier from him. But if you, *Cleander*, or any
 about you, that was no run-away from vs, had apprehended him, you
 may well conceiue, I would haue forborne to doe, as I did. And I would
 haue you thinke, if you take away my life, you shall put an honest man
 to death for a cowards and a scoundrels sake. *Cleander* hearing this said:
 I commend not *Dexippus*, if he behaued himselfe, as you haue related;
 notwithstanding admit *Dexippus* were neuer so vile, yet violence was
 not to be offred vnto him, but he was to be brought to iudgement, as you
 are at this time. Now therefore you the Coronels may depart, leauing
 this man behinde you, and when I giue you notice, returns to assist the
 Court in iudgement concerning these offences; and I haue neither
 cause to accuse the Army, nor any other man in priuate, in as much as
 himselfe confesse, that it was he, that made the rescous. Then he that
 was rescued, spake thus: Left you should thinke (*Cleander*) that I was
 apprehended as an offender, I neither strooke any man, nor threw stone;
 I said only that the sheepe appertained to the generalitie. For it was de-
 creed, that when the Armie went abroad, all boot taken in priuate
 should be deliuered vp to the vse of the generalitie. This was all I spake,
 and for this *Dexippus* laid hands on me, and would haue caried me away,
 that all mens mouthes being stopped, he might haue had his part, and
 preserued the rest for those, that contrary to the decree went about to
 deceiue the Army. Hereunto *Cleander* answered: Seeing you are so
 acute and witty, stay you here also, that we may aduise what to doe with
 you. So went *Cleander* to dinner; but *Xenophon* assembling the Army,
 counselled them to send to *Cleander*, and to make intercession for the
 prisoners. Hereupon they decreed, that the Coronels, and Captaines,
 and *Dracontius* the *Lacedemonian*, and other that were fit, should goe to
Cleander, and by all meanes intreat for their deliuerie. *Xenophon* there-
 fore being come to *Cleander* spake thus: You haue (O *Cleander*) in safe
 keeping the men, you desired, and the Army hath referred vnto you, not
 only to dispose of the prisoners, as you please, but also of themselves in
 generall. Now they desire and intreat you, to bestow the men vpon
 them, and not to put them to death, because in former times they haue
 done good seruice to the Army. Obtaining this fauour at your hands,
 they promise in regard thereof, if it shall please you to accept the com-
 mand ouer them, to make manifest, how modest they are, and how duti-
 full to their Generall, and (the gods being propitious) how fearelesse of
 the enemy. Further they are humble suiters, that you would be pleased
 to come vnto them, and to make prooffe of *Dexippus*, and of them, and
 of other, whether shall be most respectiue and dutifull to their Comman-
 ders: *Cleander* hearing this, said he would streight-waies giue them an-
 swer; and I release vnto you, quoth he, the men that are in durance, and
 will my selfe come vnto you, and conduct you into *Greece*, if the gods
 permit.

Violence not
 to be vied.

Intercession of
 the Armie for
 the prisoners.

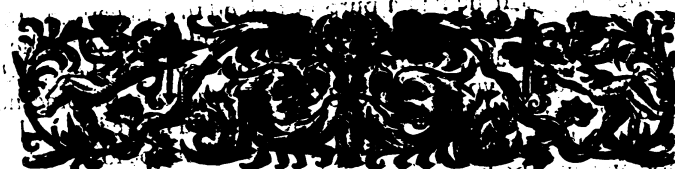
Cleander relea-
 seth the priso-
 ners.

Accepteth the
place of Gene-
rall.

The sacrifice
gauncay it.

permit. The reports which are spread abroad of you, are much differing from that, which I my selfe now heare, namely, that the Armie should be in minde to reuolt from the *Lacedemonians*. The Coronels much extolled him for his bounty, and departed, hauing the prisoners restored vnto them. *Cleander* offered sacrifice about the iourney, and vsed *Xenophon* with all kindnesse, and contracted hospitalitie with him, and when he saw the Armie orderly doe what was commanded, he much rather desired to be their Generall. But when he had sacrificed three dayes, and the sacrifice assented not, he called the Coronels together, and said: The sacrifices allow not, that I should be your Generall. Yet be not you therefore out of comfort. For, as it seemeth, you are the men that are appointed to leade the Armie home. Goe forward. When you come where we haue to doe, we will entertaine you in the best manner we can. Hereupon the Souldiers offered him the sheepe that pertained to the generallitie, which he receiued and gaue backe againe. So he sailed away. But the Souldiers diuiding amongst themselves the corne, and other things, which they had gathered together, marched on thorow the country of *Bithynia*. And when they found nothing in their right way (for they held on as if the country had bene friend) it seemed good to returne backe a day and nights iourney. Doing this they tooke many slaues and sheepe; and the eighth day came to *Chrysopolis* a Citie in the country of *Chalcedon*, and staid there seuen dayes selling their spoile.

Finis Libri Sexti.



THE SEVENTH BOOKE OF THE HISTORIE OF

XENOPHON, TOUCHING THE

Ascent of CYRVS the younger, out
of Asia the Lesse into the Higher
COUNTRIES.



That the *Grecians* did in their Ascent with *Cyrus* vntill the battell; and what, after *Cyrus* was slaine, in their iourney till they came into *Pontus*, and what marching on Foot, and sailing out of *Pontus*, till they had passed the mouth of *Pontus*, and came to *Chrysopolis* in *Asia*, is described in the former discourse. After this *Pharnabazus* fearing that the Armie would inuade his gouernment sent to *Anaxibius* the Admirall (who then happened to be at *Byzantium*) and desired him to transport it out of *Asia*, promising him in that respect to doe, whatsoever he required at his hands. *Anaxibius* sent for the Coronels and Captaines to *Byzantium* promising to giue them pay, if they would come over to him. The other Coronels said, they would aduise, and returne him answer. But *Xenophon* answered, that he purposed to leaue the Armie, and saile away. *Anaxibius* commanded him first to come ouer with the Armie, and gaue him libertie to depart afterward at his pleasure; which *Xenophon* assented vnto. In the meane time *Scuthes* the *Thracian* sent *Medosades*, and desired *Xenophon* to be a meanes and furtherance to the transportation of the Armie, adding he should not repent himselfe in so doing. *Xenophon* answered, that the Armie without all question was to come ouer, and in regard thereof *Scuthes* need not giue any thing either to him, or to any man else. After the transportation, quoth he, I am to depart. Let him therefore addresse himselfe in such sort, as he thinketh best, to those, that remaine behinde, and shall be most for his purpose. So all the Armie came ouer to *Byzantium*. *Anaxibius* gaue them not pay according to his promise, but made proclamation,

Anaxibius the
Lacedemonian
Admirall

Draweth the
Armie ouer to
Byzance.

Xenophons pur-
pose to leaue
the Armie.

Scuthes King of
Thrace lendeth
to *Xenophon*.

The Armie at
Byzance.

Anaxibius seeketh to de-
ceiue the Ar-
mie.

The Army goeth out of Byzance.

The Army findeth the deceit of *Anaxibius*.

ἀνὰ πάντας.

Returneth to
Byzance discon-
tented.

Break open a gate.

**The feare of
the Citie.**

proclamation, that taking their Armes and baggage, they should depart out of the Citie, as if he had a purpose to send them away, and to take muster of them. Hereupon the Souldiers were discontented, because they wanted money to make provision for their iourney, and they made no great haste in trussing vp their baggage. *Xenophon* being become now a Guest to *Cleander* the Gouverneur, went to him, and faured him, having in minde to take shipping presently. You shall not doe forsooth he: If you doe, you will be blamed: For alreadie they lay the fault vpon you, that the Armie is so slow in departing the Citie. Yet am not I in fault, quoth *Xenophon*: For the Souldiers wanting victuall and money for their iourney, are in that regard loth to leaue the Citie. Yet would I counsell you, quoth he, to goe out, as though you meant to march with them, and when the Armie is out of the Gates, to depart, whither you list. Let vs goe then to *Anaxibius*, quoth *Xenophon*, and take order accordingly. Comming to him they told, what they had resolved. He willed them so to doe, and that the Souldiers should presently issue with their baggage; and further to signifie, that whofoeuer appeared not at the musters, and view to be taken, should thanke himselfe, if any thing fell out contrarie to his expectation. Hereupon the Coronels first went out, and after them the rest; and now were all out but a few, and *Escamius* stood at the Gates readie to shut them and put in the barre, as soone as all were gone. *Anaxibius* calling then the Coronels and Captaines to him, said: For provision, you may take it out of the *Thracian* Villages. There shall you finde plentie of Barley, and of Wheat, and other victuall. After you are furnished, march on to *Cherronesus*, where *Cymissus* shall giue you your pay. Some of the Souldiers ouer-heard these words, or else some of the Captaines reported them to the Armie. The Coronels asked *Scuthes*, whether the Countrey wereemie, or friend, and whether they were to march ouer the holy Mountaine, or in a circle thorow the midst of *Thrace*. During this conference the Souldiers snatching vp their Armes ran with full speed to the Gates, minding to enter within the Walls. *Escamius* and those with him, when they saw the armed come running, shut the Gates, and made fast the barre. The Souldiers beat at the Gates crying, they were extremely wronged, thus to be thrust out to theemie, and threatned to breake the Gates asunder, if they opened them not of their owne accord. Other some ran along by the Sea side, and climbed vp the wall by the great stones, that were laid betwixt the Sea and the wall, to breake the violence of the waues. There were of the Souldiers, that remained yet within the Citie; who when they saw the stirre about the Gates, cut asunder the barres with axes, and set the Gates wide open. *Xenophon* beholding what was done, fearing lest the Armie should fall to spoile, and worke inestimable damage to the Citie, to him, and to themselves, ran amongst the rest, and in the crowd was carried within the Gates. As soone as the *Byzantians* perceiued, that the Armie had entred the Citie by force, they fled out of the market-place, some toward the ships, some to their houses. They that were within the Citie fled

fled out, and some put the Gallies afloat, hoping to finde safetie in them. All accounted themselves lost, none other wise, than if the City had beene taken by the enimie. *Anaxibius* fled to the Sea, taking a Fisher-boat, and recouered the Castle, from whence out of hand he sent for succour to *Chalcedon*, thinking the Garrison of the Castle insufficient to make the place good against the Armie. The Souldiers, when they saw *Xenophon*, said to him: Now (*ô Xenophon*) it is in your owne hands to make your selfe a man; you haue a Citie, you haue Gallies, you haue riches, you haue so many men; now, if you please, you may doe vs good, and we will make you great. You say well, quoth *Xenophon*, and I will follow your counsell; only if this be your desire, put your selues in order of battell without delay. Both himselfe gaue this command, and he willed the other Coronels to giue direction to imbattell the Souldiers, thereby to still and appease the vproare. They putting themselves in order, the armed stood in short time fiftie deepe, and the *Pelasts* ran to both wings. The place was fit to embattell in, called *Thracium*, being void of houses, and an euen plot of ground. After they had laid downe their Armes, and were still, *Xenophon* called the army together, and made this speech vnto them: I maruell not (*ô Souldiers*) that you are angry, & thinke you haue cause of discontent in regard of the deceit, that is vsed towards you. But if we giue reines to our anger, and seeke reuenge vpon the *Lacedemonians*, that are present, and put the Citie, that is blamelesse, to sacke, cast in your mindes, what will be the issue. And what kinde of war this will be, they may iudge, that haue seene, and remember the euents of things lately passed. For we, the *Athenians*, entred into war against the *Lacedemonians*, and their Allies, being owners of no lesse, than foure hundred Gallies; which were in part abroad, in part in our Arsenall. And albeit that the Citie had much riches, and a yeerely reueneue arising from the Citizens, and from strangers, no lesse than 1000. talents, and besides was mistresse of all the Ilands, and possessed many Cities in *Asia*, many in *Europe*, and amongst the rest this *Byzantium* it selfe, where we now are, yet were we ouercome, as you all know. Now then what can we expect to besall vs, the *Lacedemonians* and *Achaans* being linked in societic, and the *Athenians* and all their confederates, that then were, being of the partie; *Tissaphernes*, and the other *Barbarians* on the other side of the Sea our enemies, and the great King most of all other, whose kingdome we sought to bereaue him of, and to take his life, if we could. All these things being so, is any man so simple to conceiue, that wee shall haue the vpper hand? For Gods sake let vs not be franticke, nor cast away our selues shamefully in becoming enemy to our fathers, friends, and kinsfolke. For they liue all in the Cities, which will make warre against vs. Which warre will not want a iust ground, considering we sought not to possesse any *Barbarian* Citie, albeit we won them by force, and now we put to spoile the first *Grecian* Citie, to which we are arriued. For my part, I wish my selfe 1000. fathoms vnder the ground, before I see so shamefull an act committed by you; and I

θύει τὰ ὅπλα.
 = τὸ πύξι.
 πύει τὰ ὅπλα.

ἐκείνο τὰ ἑπλάα.

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Messengers to
Anaxibius.

Cyrotades offereth
himselfe
Generall.

The army goeth
out of the
Citie and fol-
loweth him.

Xenophon de-
parteth from
the Army.

would counsell you, being *Grecians*, to seeke things right and iust not by force, but by obedience to them, that are rulers of the *Grecians*: which if you cannot obtaine, yet is it not fit, that because we are wronged, we should therefore deprive our selues of *Greece*. And now I am of opinion, that we are to signifie to *Anaxibius*, that we come into the Citie, not to vse any violence, but, if it might be, to obtaine some friendship at his hands: If not, to shew vnto him, that we depart not being deceiued, but obeying his command. These things were decreed, and they sent away *Hieronymus* the *Elean*, and *Eurylochus* the *Arcadian*, and *Philestus* the *Achazan* to deliuer the message. In the meane time, while they remained in the place, expecting their messengers returne, came *Cyrotades* a *Theban*, who was no banished man from *Greece*, but went from place to place desirous to haue the command of an army, offering himselfe to any Citie or Nation, that needed a Generall. He then comming to the army, told them, he would lead them to that part of *Thrace*, which was called *Delta*, where they should enrich themselues with the spoile of the Countrey: and if they would accept him for their Generall, he would bountifully bestow meat and drinke vpon them. The Souldiers at the same time heard his proposition, and the message of *Anaxibius*, who returned answer, that they should neuer repent themselues of their obedience to him: for he said he would signifie it to the Magistrates of his Citie, and be readie to gratifie them to the vitermost of his power. Hereupon the Souldiers tooke *Cyrotades* for their Generall, and went out of the walles. *Cyrotades* appointed to be with the army, the next day bringing with him sacrifice, a soothsayer, and meat, and drinke for the army. When they were departed the Citie, *Anaxibius* shut the gates, and made Proclamation, that whatsoeuer Souldier hee found in the Citie, hee would sell him as a slaue. The next day *Cyrotades* came with sacrifice, and a soothsayer; 20. men followed him laden with barley meale, other twenty with wine, three with oyle, one that bore as great a burden of Garlick as he could, another of Onions. Laying these things downe, as it were to be diuided amongst the souldiers, he sacrificed. *Xenophon* in the meane sending to *Cleander*, desired him to get leaue for him to come within the walls, and to take shipping to saile from *Byzantium*. *Cleander* came vnto him: With much adoe, quoth he, I haue obtained that which you desire. For *Anaxibius* said: it would not sute well, that *Xenophon* should be within the walls, and the Armie without so neere to the Citie; especially the *Bizantians* being at diuision amongst themselues, and ill-minded one against another. Notwithstanding he willed you to come in, if you minded to saile away with him. *Xenophon* saluting and bidding the Souldiers farewell, entred the Citie with *Cleander*. *Cyrotades* found no good successe in his sacrifice the first day, nor did he distribute any thing to the Souldiers. The next day he brought the beast to the Altar, and stood crowned, as though he meant to sacrifice. *Timasion* the *Dardanian*, and *Neon* the *Asinaan*, and *Cleanor* the *Orchomenian* told *Cyrotades*, it would be in vaine to sacrifice in hope to be

Generall

Generall of the Armie, vnlesse he gaue prouision to maintaine them. He bid, that the prouision should be diuided amongst them; when he could not furnish out so much as would serue euery Souldier for one dayes prouision, he tooke his sacrifice with him, and renounced the Generals place. *Neon* the *Asinaan*, and *Phrynisus* the *Achaian*, and *Timasion* the *Dardanian* remained with the Armie, and leading it to the *Thracian* villages about *Byzantium* encamped there. The Coronels were diuided amongst themselues, *Cleanor* and *Phrynisus* wishing to leade the Armie to *Scuthe* (for he had wonne them, giuing the one a horse, the other a woman) *Neon* to *Cherronesus*, imagining, if they were vnder the *Lacedemonians*, he should be chiefe Commander. *Timasion* the *Dardanian* was desirous to passe it ouer againe into *Asia*, hoping thereby to be restored to his countrey, which the Souldiers likewise desired. Much time being spent herein, many of the Souldiers selling their armes in the countrey thereabout forsooke the Armie, other disperfed themselues into the neighbour Cities. *Anaxibius* was filled with ioy, hearing that the Armie went to wracke. For that comming to passe, he conceived he should graatife *Pharnabazus*. *Anaxibius* now sailing from *Byzantium* encountered at *Cyzicus* *Aristarchus* the successor of *Cleander* gouernour of *Byzantium*. He told *Anaxibius*, that *Polus*, his successor in the Admirals place, was only not arriued at *Hellepont*. *Anaxibius* willed *Aristarchus*, if he found any of *Cyrus* his Souldiers at *Byzantium*, he should sell them for slaues. *Clearchus* sold none; nay rather those that were sicke, he in pitie made much of, and compelled men to take them into their houses. But *Aristarchus* hastning to *Byzantium*, as soone as he came there, sold no lesse than 400 of them for slaues. *Anaxibius* sailed to *Parium*, and sent to *Pharnabazus* expecting an answer according to their composition. He, after he perceiued, that *Aristarchus* was come Gouernour to *Byzantium*, and that *Anaxibius* was no more Admirall, regarded *Anaxibius* little, and practised the same with *Aristarchus* concerning *Cyrus* his Souldiers, that he had before concluded with *Anaxibius*. Hereupon *Anaxibius* calling *Xenophon* vnto him, willed him with all his cunning to saile to the Armie, and keepe them together, and to gather as many as he could, of those that were disperfed, and leading them to *Perinthus* to transport them into *Asia* with all speed. He gaue also a Galley, and a letter to *Xenophon*, and sent an expresse messenger to command the *Perinthians* to furnish *Xenophon* with horse, and send him with all speed vnto the Armie. So *Xenophon* sailing away came to the Armie. The Souldiers entertained him with ioy, and streightway followed him willingly, being in hope to passe ouer out of *Thrace* into *Asia*. *Scuthe* hearing that *Xenophon* was come, sent *Medosades* by Sea vnto him, and intreated him to bring the Armie into *Thrace*, promising whatsoeuer he thought would tempt him to giue way vnto his request. *Xenophon* answered it was impossible to be done. *Medosades*, after this answer was giuen, rode away. When the *Grecians* were come to *Perinthus*, *Neon* separating his Regiment from the rest of the Army, encamped apart, hauing about 800 men.

All

Cyrotades his
prouision too
scant.
He renoun-
ceth his com-
mand.
The Coronels
of diuers
nantes.

Cruelty of
Anaxibius and
Aristarchus
against the
Souldiers.
The faithles-
nesse of *Phar-
nabazus*.

Anaxibius sen-
deth *Xenophon*
to the Army
againe.

Scuthe desireth
to haue the
seruice of the
Army.

The Army at
Perinthus a Ci-
tie in Thracia.

Aristarchus hin-
dereth their
passage into
Asia.

Xenophons dan-
ger.

His sacrifice.

He posteth in-
to Thracia.

6 Mile and a
quarter.

Fires before
the Guards.

All the rest of the Armie set downe together hard by the walls of *Perinthus*. *Xenophon* in the meane time practised all he could, to get shipping for the speedy transportation of the Armie into *Asia*. Whilest this was doing, *Aristarchus* the Gouvernour, arriuing from *Byzantium* with two Gallies at the perswasion of *Pharnabazus*, commanded the Saylers not to receiue so much as one Souldier aboard. And comming to the Armie, forbade them to passe ouer into *Asia*. *Xenophon* told him, that it was the commandement of *Anaxibius*, and he sent him purposely about this businesse. *Aristarchus* replied, that *Anaxibius* was not Admirall, and I, quoth he, am Gouvernour here; if I take any of you vpon the Sea, I will linke you. Hauing said thus much, he entred within the walls of the Citie. The next day he sent for the Coronels and Captaines of the Armie. They being now neere the walls, it was told *Xenophon*, that if hee went into the Citie, he should be apprehended, and either suffer there, I wot not what, or else be deliuered into the hands of *Pharnabazus*. He hearing this sent in the rest; for himselfe, he said, he would aske counsell of the gods by sacrifice; and departing he sacrificed, demanding whether the gods would be pleased, he should leade the Armie vnto *Seuthes*, or no. For he saw he could not safely passe ouer into *Asia*, especially since che man, that forbade the passage, had Gallies at command; and he liked not to be shut vp in *Cherronesus*, and to haue the Armie brought to extreme want of all things. Besides, in the place where they were, they must obey the Gouvernour, and yet be destitute of prouision. About this businesse was *Xenophon*. The Coronels and Captaines returning from *Aristarchus*, brought word, that he willed them now to depart, and come againe in the euening. Hereupon the fraud seemed more apparent. *Xenophon* therefore, when he saw the sacrifice to be faire both for him and the Armie to goe to *Seuthes* without danger, taking *Polycrates* the *Athenian* Captaine with him, and a man from euery the Coronels (except *Neom*) such a one as euery one trusted most, rode that night to the Camp of *Seuthes*, which was 50 furlongs distant; and comming vp to the Campe, they found fires, and no man neere them. And first they imagined, that *Seuthes* had remoued his Campe, but when they heard a noise, and *Seuthes* his Souldiers calling one to another, they conceiued, that *Seuthes* had caused the fires to be made before his night-guards, that in the darke the Sentinels might not be seene, and yet those, that had access to the Campe, might not be hidden, but plainly discovered by the light of the fires. Which when he perceiued, he sent the Interpreter, which he brought with him, to signifie to *Seuthes*, that *Xenophon* was there desirous to speake with him. They asked, whether it were *Xenophon* the *Athenian*, and whether he came from the Armie? and when he answered, he was the same, they returned dancing. A little while after came about 200 *Peltasts*, and taking *Xenophon* and his company with them, they led them to *Seuthes*. He was in a Castle carefully guarded, and the horse round about the Castle were bridled. For in the day time he fed his horse, by night he had them in a readinesse for feare. It is reported

reported that *Terem* one of his ancestors having a great Armie in this countrey, lost many of his Souldiers, and was lighted of all his baggage by these men. They are the *Thynes*, who are said to be the most warlike of all the Nation, especially by night. When they came to the Castle, *Seuthes* willed *Xenophon* to come in with any two he should choose. Being within they first saluted, and then according to the *Thracian* manner drunke hornes of wine one to another. *Medesades* was then present with *Seuthes*, whose seruice he vied in all Embassages. *Xenophon* began then to speake: You sent *Medesades* to me (O *Seuthes*) first to *Chalcedon*, intreating me to be a meanes to transport the Armie out of *Asia*, and promising, if I brought it to passe, to requite my seruice, as this *Medesades* signified vnto me. Speaking thus much, he asked *Medesades*, if it were not true. *Medesades* said, it was so. Then came *Medesades* to me the second time, after I came from *Perion* to the Armie, promising, if I brought the Armie to you, that you would otherwise vse me as a friend & brother, and also giue me the Townes you possesse by the Sea-side. He asked *Medesades*, whether he spake nor this also: Yes, quoth he, I spake it. Goe to now; report what answer I made you at *Chalcedon*. First, you answered, quoth he, that the Armie was to come ouer to *Byzantium*, and that in respect thereof there needed not any thing to be giuen to you or to any man else; and you said, you were to depart as soone as you came ouer; and it fell out as you said. But what answer made I at *Selymbria*? You said it was not possible to be done, because the Armie was to march to *Perinthus*, and there to be transported into *Asia*. Now am I here, said *Xenophon*, and this *Phrynisca* one of the Coronels, and this *Polycrates* one of the Captaines, and without the Castle are the most trusty friends of all the other Coronels (except of *Neom* the *Lacedemonian*). To giue credit therefore vnto our negotiation, it will be good, that you call for them to be present here within. And you *Polycrates* tell them from me, that I would haue them leaue their armes without, and you likewise leaue your sword there, and so come in. *Seuthes* hearing this, said, he distrusted no *Athenian*: for he knew they were his kinsfolke, and he reckned them in the number of his faithful and well-affecting friends. When they that should, were come in, *Xenophon* asked *Seuthes*, wherein he purposed to vse the seruice of the Armie. *Seuthes* spake thus: *Medesades* was my father, vnder whose government were the *Macedonians*, the *Thynes*, and the *Thracians*. When the affaires of the *Odryssians* began to be troubled, my father being driuen out of this countrey fell sicke, and died, and I was brought vp as an orphan by *Medonius*, that now reigneth. After I grew to a few yeares, I could not endure to sit, and looke vpon another mans table. Wherefore being at his table, I humbly besought him to afford me such forces, as he could, that I might be reuenged vpon them, that had clected vs out of our patrimony, and not alwaies liue like a dog waiting at his table. Hereupon he gaue me those men and horse, which you shall see as soone, as it is day. And now I spend the time with these spoiling and driuing preies out of my fathers countrey. But if you

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The Thynes.

Xenophon with
Seuthes.

His propositions
to Seuthes.

Why Seuthes
desired the
army.

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The offers of
Seuthes to the
army.

Aristarchus sen-
ded for the
Coronels, who
refuse to come.

The army go-
eth to Seuthes.

Seuthes meets
the army.

ioyne with me, I hope (the gods being friends) easily to recouer my kingdome. And this is the cause, wherefore I craue your aid. What then, quoth *Xenophon*, can you giue the army, the Captaines and the Coronels, if we come? Speake it, quoth he, before this company, that they may make report to the rest of the army. He promised to a common Souldier a *Cyzicenus*, two to a Captaine, foure to a Coronell, and as much land, as he desired, and yoakes of oxen, and a walled towne situate by the Sea. But if endeavouring this, we bring it not to passe, and some teare arise from the *Lacedemonians*, if any of vs come vnto you, will you receiue him into your countrey? He answered: yea I will hold them as my brothers, and place them in seats, and make them partakers of all I shall possesse. But to you, *Xenophon*, I will giue my daughter, and if you haue a daughter, I will buy her after the *Thracian* manner, and will giue her *Bisanthe* lying vpon the Sea-coast to dwell in, which is the goodliest countrey I haue. Hearing these things, and giuing and taking hands, they rode away, and before day, came to the Campe, and every one returned answer to them, from whom he was sent. When it was day, *Aristarchus* called againe the Coronells and Captaines, who thought it not good to come at *Aristarchus*, but to call an assembly of the army. All came together, except the Souldiers of *Neon*, who were about ten Furlongs from the rest. Being assembled, *Xenophon* arose, and spake thus: We cannot (o Souldiers) faile ouer, whether we would, by reason that *Aristarchus* with his Gallies hindreth vs; so that it is not safe for vs to go aboard. He also commandeth vs to make way thorow the Holy Mount by force, and so to come to *Cherronesus*: which if we do, he saith he will no more sell vs for slaues, as he did in *Bizantium*, nor yet beguile vs, but will surely giue vs our pay; nor shall we need to looke about vs, as wee doe now, being destitute of necessary prouision. *Seuthes* promisseth, if you will come vnto him to vse you kindly. I would haue you therefore to consider, whether you will stay here, and debate of these things, or march away to a place, where you may refresh your selues with victualls. I am of opinion, seeing we neither haue money to goe to market, nor are suffered to take victuall without money, that we were best to returne to the villages which were allotted vs, and hauing there such things, as we want, to heare the propositions of such, as desire your seruice, and to chuse that, which shall be most expedient for your selues. You, that like hereof, hold vp your hands. All held vp their hands. Goe then, quoth he, and presently trusse vp your baggage, and when you are commanded, follow your leaders. After this *Xenophon* led, and the army followed. And albeit *Neon*, and other from *Aristarchus* endeouored to perswade them to returne, yet they would giue no care. When they had now marched about thirtie Furlongs, *Seuthes* met them. Whom when *Xenophon* saw, he desired him to draw neere, that in the hearing of the multitude they might conferre about some things, which tended to the good of the army. Being come vp, *Xenophon* said: We are now marching thither, where we may finde food. There, after we haue heard, what you, and this

this *Lacedemonian* will vs; wee will resolve vpon that, which shall seeme best for vs. If therefor you will lead vs to a place, where we shall haue plenty, we shall be the more beholding vnto you, and thinke you make vs your guests. I know, quoth *Seuthes*, where many villages stand not farre asunder, which abound in store of prouision, and are no further off, than we may well reach by winter time. Lead then, quoth *Xenophon*. They came to the villages in the afternoone, and the Souldiers assembling, *Seuthes* vied this speech: I desire you (o Souldiers) to take entertainment of me. I promise every one of you a *Cyzicenus* for his monthly pay, and to a Captaine, and a Coronell as much, as is usually giuen. Meate and drinke you shall haue of the countrey, as you haue now. What seruicer is taken from the enemy, I will challenge, as mine owne, that disposing of it, as I shall thinke best, I may make vp your pay. We of our selues shall be of force sufficient to giue chase to the enemy, that flyeth: with your helpe we shall easily overcome those that resist. *Xenophon* then asked him, how farre from the Sea he desired the army should march. No further than seven daies iourney, quoth he, and oftentimes lesse. After this it was permitted, that any man, that would, might speake. Many said, that *Seuthes* propounded things not to be continued. For it was Winter, and no man, though he would neuer so faine, could get home by Sea, and wanting mony to buy things necessary, they were not able to remaine in a friends countrey, and in the enemies it was safer to stay and be nourished in the company of *Seuthes*, than being alone, especially so many commodities offering themselves. Besides, to haue pay was a thing found, ere it could be looked for. *Xenophon* added, if any man be of a contrarie minde, let him speake; if not, let a decree be made hereof. When all were silent, they gaue their consent, and a decree was made accordingly. *Xenophon* therefore presently informed *Seuthes*, that the Souldiers would take entertainment of him. After this the rest quartered, every man, as the lot fell to his company, but *Seuthes* called the Coronels and Captaines to supper in a village hard by. Coming to the doore, where they should sup, they found one *Heracles* a *Thracian*; he inuited himselfe to each of them, who, he thought, was able, and had to giue *Seuthes*; and spake first to certaine *Parians*, that came to make a league with *Medocus* the King of *Odryssians*, bringing with them gifts for him, and for the Queene. He told them, that *Medocus* lived in the countrey, that was twelue daies iourney from the Sea, and that *Seuthes* with the helpe of that army would be master of the Sea, and being their neighbour, would bee able both to pleasure, and hurt them. If you be wise therefore turne the gifts, which you bring, to *Seuthes*; and it will be better, than, if you presented them to *Medocus*, that dwelleth so farre off. Thus he perswaded them. Then he came to *Timasion* the *Dardanian* (for he heard, he had cups and carpers taken from the *Barbarians*) and said: It was the manner, when *Seuthes* bid any to supper, that the guests inuited, offered presents vnto him. He, quoth *Heracles*, if he become great in this kingdome, will be able either to restore

18 Shillings.
Seuthes to the
Armie.

Reasons why
the Armie
mould follow
Seuthes.

They agree to
follow him.

Hee inuited
the Coronels
and Captaines
to supper.

Gifts to the
King.

restore you to your countrey, or else to make you rich here. Thus admonished he euerie one, before they entred to supper. He came likewise to *Xenophon* and said: You are both of the greatest Citie, and of greatest name with *Scuthe*; and it may be, that *Scuthe* will thinke you worthy to possesse cities and land in this countrey, as many of your countrymen haue done heretofore. It is fit therefore for you to honour *Scuthe* with the richest presents. For I know, the royaller your presents be, the more gratuite you shall obtaine at his hands. *Xenophon* hearing this was displeased in minde. For he brought no more out of *Parium* with him, than a boy, and money to defray his charges. When the greatest men of *Thrace*, that were then present, and the Coronels and Captaines of the *Grecians*, and the Ambassadors sent from Cities, were entred into supper, they set downe all in a ring. Then were three-footed kettles brought in for them all. They were about twentie in number, full of flesh cut in peeces, and of great loaves of leauened bread, pierced thorow and fastened to the flesh. The tables, as the custome is, were set neere to the strangers. *Scuthe* first of all taking the loaves next him, broke them into small peeces, and the flesh likewise, and threw the peeces to whom hee thought good, reseruing to himselfe no more than a taste. The other, that had the tables standing by them, did the like. There was amongst the rest an *Arcadian*, *Aristos* by name, a notable eater. He not regarding that which was cast vnto him, taking a loafe of the bignesse well-nigh of a pecke in one hand, and a peece of flesh on his knees, fell a eating. Hornes of wine were carried about, and euery man tooke them. *Aristos*, when hee that filled the wine came, and offered it to him, seeing *Xenophon* forbear eating, goe, giue it him, quoth he, for he is at leasure, and I not. *Scuthe* hearing the voice, asked the filler of wine, what he said, who when he told him (for he could speake Greeke) the whole company tell a laughing. The cups now walked thicke about, and a *Thracian* vpon a white horse came in, and taking a full horne, said: *Scuthe*, I drinke to you, and giue you this horse, whose backe when you are vpon, you may easily take, whomsoever you chace, and retiring, need not feare any enemy. Another brought in a boy, and drinking in the same sort, gaue him to the King. Another, garments for his wife. *Timasion* drunke to him, and gaue him a siluer cup and a carpet worth ten pound. *Gnesippus* the *Athenian* standing vp, said, That it was an ancient and a verie good custome, that they that had, should for honours sake giue to the King; and the King to them, that had not. So should I, quoth hee, haue wherewith to present and honour the King. *Xenophon* doubted with himselfe what to doe. For he was honoured, sitting in the next seat to the King, and *Heraclides* willed the wine-filler to reach the Horne vnto him. He was now well tippled, & therefore stood vp boldly taking the Horne in his hand, and said: I (*Scuthe*) giue my selfe vnto you, and all these my Companions, to be your faithfull friends: and I giue none of them against their wils, but all so minded, that euerie one will strue to doe you more service

The manner of
sitting and ser-
uice at supper.

service, than my selfe. And now they are here, wishing nothing more, than to be employed, and to vndergoe perill for your sake; with the helpe of whom (if the gods will) you shall both recouer and also enioy your Fathers Kingdome; and not only it, but many Horse, many men and faire women; whom you shall haue need to spoile, and take from them, what they haue, but of their owne free will they will bring gifts vnto you. *Scuthe* standing vp pledged him in a full Horne, and drunke it out, and he cast hore and there the bellin was before him. After this the *Cerafuntes* came in, whose Flutes and Trumpets made of the raw Hides of Oxen playing in measure, as the vse is vpon the Instrument called *Magade*. *Scuthe* himselfe stood vp, and casting forth a martiall cry, leaped forward nimble, (shunning, as it were, a dart, that seemed to be cast at him. Iesters also came in. When the Sun was now readie to set, the *Grecians* arose from their seats, signifying, it was time to dispose the watch, and to giue the word. They desired *Scuthe* to take order, that no *Thracian* entred the *Grecian* quarter by night; because, said they, there are some *Thracians*, that are enemies, some, that are friends, both to you, and vs. When they went out, *Scuthe* also stood vp nothing lesse than like a drunken man; and comming abroad, he called the Coronels to him, and said: The enemy yet knoweth not, that you are entertained by me. If therefore we goe against them, before they feare to be caught, or prouide to defend themselves, we shall easily gaine both prisoners and plentie of riches. The Coronels commended his aduice, and willed him to leade on. He replied, that they should make themselves readie, and stay, where they were. When it is time, quoth he, I will come vnto you, and taking you and the *Peltasts* with me, by the helpe of the gods, I will be your guide. *Xenophon* said: Consider, I pray, seeing we are to march by night, whether the *Grecian* manner be not best. In the day time the light-Armed, or Horse, according to the nature of the place, haue the Vant of the Armie; in the night the vse of the *Grecians* is to giue the leading to the slowest. For so the Armie is easiliest kept together, and it is soonest espied, if they breake. But being seuered, they often fall one vpon another, and through ignorance doe, and suffer hostilitie. *Scuthe* answered, You say well, and I will follow your order, and giue you old men the most experienced in the Countrey for Guides, and my selfe bring vp the Reare with the Horse. For I can soone be first, if need be. They gaue for the Word *Pallas*, because of their kined. After this was spoken, they tooke their rest. About midnight *Scuthe* came vnto them with his Horse-men being *Curaciers*, and with the *Peltasts* in their Armes, and after he had giuen them Guides, the armed Foot marched first, the *Peltasts* followed, and the Horse-men came in the Reare. When it was day *Scuthe* galloped vp to the Front, & much commended the *Grecian* manner. For I my selfe, quoth he, marching in the night, albeit but with a few, haue oftentimes had my Horse distracted from my Foot. Now are we by breake of day all together in one place, as it ought to be. But it is best, you stay here, and rest your selues, I will scout abroad. Speaking thus

See Int. Poll. pag.
187. lin. 12.

The Watch.

Surprising the
enemie.

The order of
marching in
the night.

Pallas is in
Greeke *Athe-
nea*. From
hence did
Athen take the
name, and *Scu-
thes* was of the
blood of the
Athenians by
Progne, whom
Tereus King of
Thrace, one of
Scuthe his an-
cestors married.

much, he galloped along the Hill, following a way, that lead forward. When he came to much Snow, he began to looke about, whether there were any foot-steps of men comming forward or backward. When he could discerne no tract, he straight returned and said: All will be well (ô Souldiers) if God will: For we shall fall vpon the enimie and take them at vnawares. But I will goe before with the Horse, to the end; that if I see any man, I may stay him, lest he scape from vs, and giue warning to the enimie. Follow you, and if you fall farre behinde, direct your selues by the tract of the Horse. After we are ouer these Mountaines, we shall come to Villages, that are many in number, and rich. About noone he was vpon the top of the Mountaines, and discovering the Villages, he came vpon the spur to the armed Foot, saying: I will send the Horse downe into Champeigne, and the Pelcasse into the Villages: follow you, as fast as you can, that, if any resistance be made, you may come in to succour. *Xenophon* hearing this, alighted from his Horse: When *Seuthes* asked him, why he alighted, when most haste was requirit; I know, quoth he, you shall not haue need of me alone, and these armed will more willingly run, if I leade on foot. After this *Timasion* ioined with him hauing fortie Horse or thereabout. *Xenophon* commanded them, that were 30 yeere old, taking with them their armes alone, to come out of the body vnto him; with whom he posted on. *Cleanor* lead the rest of the *Grecians*. When they were come to the villages, *Seuthes* galloping vp, said: It is as you said, *Xenophon*, we haue caught the men. But my horse haue left me, & giuen chace one one way, another another, and I am afraid, lest the enemy gathering together, make head, and worke vs some mischiefe. Some of vs must stay in the Villages also. For they are full of men. But I, quoth *Xenophon*, will take the top of the mountaine with those I haue. Command you *Cleanor* to stretch out his Phalange along the champeigne by the villages. When this was done, they gathered together into the champeigne about 1000 slaues, 2000 oxen, and 10000 other cattell. There they quartered that night. The next day *Seuthes* burning all the Villages, and leauing not so much as a house; to the end to strike a terror into other of that Nation, and to signifie what they were to expect, if they yeilded not, departed thence. And he sent *Heraclides* to sell the prey at *Perinthus*, thereby to raise pay for the Souldiers. He and the *Grecians* encamped in the Plaines of the *Thynes*, who forsaking their houses fled to the mountaines. The Snow was great, and the cold such, that the water frose, which was carried for supper, and the wine likewise in the vessels; and the nothrills and eares of many of the *Grecians* were siadged with the rigour thereof. And the cause was then perceiued, why the *Thracians* wore fox-skins vpon their heads and eares, and (sitting on horsebacke) coats not only vpon their breasts, but also vpon their thighes, and put on gownes, that reach to their feet, and refuse the vse of cloakes. *Seuthes* sending some of the prisoners to the mountaines, gaue them to vnderstand, that vnlesse they descended to inhabit their houses, and acknowledged him for their King,

Choice of souldiers by the age and speed.

The prey.

The cold of the Country.

King, he would fire their Villages also, and their corne, and cause them die of hunger. Hereupon the women, and children, and old men came downe; the younger sort quartered in the Villages at the foot of the mountaines. Which when *Seuthes* had intelligence of, he commanded *Xenophon* to follow him with the youngest of the armed foot. And beginning to march in the night, they came to the Villages by breake of day. The most part of the enemy escaped away, by reason that the mountaine was neere. As many as were taken *Seuthes* killed with darts. There was one *Episthenes* an *Olythian*, a lover of boyes, who seeing a faire boy now first come to mans estate, that had a Target, and was ready to be executed, ranne to *Xenophon*, and beseeched him to be a meanes to saue the faire boy. *Xenophon* stepped to *Seuthes*, intreating him not to kill the boy, and told him withall the fashion of *Episthenes*, and that he once raised a company with no other intent, than to see, if any were faire amongst them, that with them he might shew himselfe a braue man. *Seuthes* asked: *Episthenes* will you die for him? He holding out his necke, Strike, quoth he, if the boy bid, and I will hold it for a fauour. *Seuthes* asked the boy, whether *Episthenes* should be stricken in his stead. The boy would not suffer it, but humbly sued, that neither of them might be put to death. Then *Episthenes* taking the boy in his armes, Now, quoth he, *Seuthes*, you and I must haue a pull about this boy: For I will neuer let him goe. *Seuthes* smiling gaue him leaue to doe what he list. He thought it best to encampe in that place; lest they of the mountaines should be releued with victuall out of the Villages; and himselfe descending into the Plaine, quartered there. *Xenophon* hauing with him his chosen Souldiers encamped in the vppermost Village neere the mountaines; and the rest of the *Grecians* not farre off, in that part, which the *Thracians* call the mountainous countrey. Many daies passed not, before the *Thracians* descending from the mountaines practised with *Seuthes* about pledges and agreement; and *Xenophon* came vnto *Seuthes*, and told him that the Campe was seated in dangerous places, and that the enemy was neere at hand. I had rather, quoth he, encampe else-where, than in these streights, where all are in perill to be lost. *Seuthes* willed him to be of good cheere, shewing him the pledges, which were brought vnto him. Some also descending from the mountaines, intreated *Xenophon* to be a meanes of peace. He was content, and bid them be of good comfort, and promised they should haue no harme, as long as they would be obedient to *Seuthes*. All that they did, was to no other end, than to spie and discover, what was done in the Campes. So ended this dayes worke. The night following the *Thynes* descending from the mountaines gaue a *Camisado*. The housholder of euery house was the leader. For otherwise it would haue beene hard to haue found the houses of the Villages in the darke, which were set round about with great *Palizados* because of the cattell. When they were come to the doores of euery house, some threw in darts, other some laid on with clubs, which they were said to carry to the end to breake off the heads

Seuthes executed his rebels.

Episthenes.

Spies of the enemy.

A *Camisado* by the *Thynes*.

of

The *Thracians*
Peltasts.

of the pikes, some fired the houses, and called *Xenophon* by name, willing him to come out, and die, vnlesse he had rather be burnt. The fire was now seene vpon the roofes of the houses, and *Xenophons* heavy armed were yet within, ready notwithstanding with their Targets, Swords, and Head-peeces. And when *Silanius* the *Macedonian*, who was 18 yeares of age, gaue a signe with the Trumpet, presently they also, that were lodged in other houses, leaped forth with their drawne swords in their hands. The *Thracians* fled immediatly, casting, as their manner is, their Targets at their backs; but whilest they climbed ouer the *Palizadoes*, some hung by the Targets, and were taken, some slaine by mistaking the goings out. The *Grecians* followed the chace. Yet there were of the *Thynes*, which returning backe in the darke, wounded with darts such as ran by a house that was on fire, ayming out of the darke against the light; and they wounded *Hieronymus*, *Enodias*, and *Theagenes*, all Captaines, yet was no man slaine. There were some that had their baggage burnt. *Seuthes* hastied to rescous, with the first seuen horse he could recouer, hauing a *Thracian* Trumpeter; & as soone as he perceiued what was in hand, he caused the trumpet to sound all the way he came, which also stricke a feare into the enemies mindes. When hee came to the *Grecians*, hee tooke them by the hands, and said, that he thought he should haue found many more slaine. *Xenophon* desired, that the Hostages might be deliuered vnto him; and that *Seuthes* would be pleased to goe with him against the mountaine, or else to giue him leaue to goe with his owne forces alone. The next day *Seuthes* deliuered the Hostages to *Xenophon* being old men, and the best, as it was said, of the Mountainers; and ioyned his owne forces to *Xenophons*. *Seuthes* had now thrice as many folke, as he had before. For the *Odryfians*, hearing of his good successe, came in numbers to serue him. The *Thynes*, when they saw from the mountaines many armed, many *Peltasts*, and many horsemen, descended and humbly sued to compound, and promised to doe, whatsoeuer they were commanded, and to put in good assurance. *Seuthes* calling *Xenophon*, told him what they said, and added, he would make no attonement, if *Xenophon* would be reuenged of their *Camisado*. *Xenophon* answered, he had sufficient reuenge, in that he saw them now slaues, which were before free. But he would counsell *Seuthes* hereafter, in taking Hostages, to take those that were able to doe him most harme, and to leaue the old men at home. So all the *Thracians* of the countrey came vnder *Seuthes* his subiection. They marched from thence against the *Thracians*, that lie about *Byzantium*, and inhabit the Territorie called *Delta*. This countrey was neuer subiect to *Mesades*, but it had bene vnder *Tereus* the *Odryfian*, that liued many yeeres agoe. *Heraclides* came hither hauing with him the price of the spoile, and *Seuthes* causing three paire of Mules (for there were no more, the rest being yokes of Oxen) to be brought forth, calling *Xenophon*, offered them vnto him, the rest hee parted amongst the Coronels and Captaines. *Xenophon* made answer, that he would be content with that, which he should bestow vpon him hereafter:

Fit Hostages.

Constantinople
which lieth in
the *European*
Thrace.

after: now, quoth he, giue to the Coronels and Captaines, that follow you with mee. So *Timasion* the *Dardanian* had one paire, *Cleanor* the *Orbomenian* one, and *Phrynisus* the *Achayan* one. Theyokes of Oxen he distributed amongst the Captaines. The moneth was now out, and yet the Souldiers had no more than twenty daies pay. For *Heraclides* said, he could sell the prey at no greater price. *Xenophon* therefore being discontent told *Heraclides*, that he seemed not to regard *Seuthes* so much, as he ought. For if you did, quoth he, you would haue come with full pay, although you had taken it vp at interest, and if not otherwise, euen by selling your owne clothes. Hereupon *Heraclides* grew angry, and feared to be turned out of *Seuthes* his friendship, and from that day forward sought to bring *Xenophon* in disgrace with *Seuthes*. The Souldiers also laid the fault vpon *Xenophon*, that they wanted their pay; and *Seuthes* was displeased with him, because he was so earnest a suiter in the behalfe of the Souldiers. And whereas he wanted to say, that as soone as hee came to the Sea-side, he would deliuer to *Xenophon*, *Byzant*, and *Gamin*, and new castle, hence forward he neuer spake word of any such thing. For *Heraclides* calumniated that also, alledging it was not safe to deliuer such holds into the hands of one, that had an Armie. In the meane time *Xenophon* aduised with himselfe, what was best to be done in following *Seuthes* in warre against the vpper countries. But *Heraclides* bringing in the other Coronels vnto *Seuthes*, counselled them to say, that if need were, they could leade the Armie vpon seruice as well as *Xenophon*, and promised he would take ship, & within few daies bring in two moneths pay; only he desired them to goe forward in *Seuthes* his seruice. *Timasion* answered, if you would giue me five moneths pay, I will not serue without *Xenophon*. *Phrynisus* and *Cleanor* said the like. Whereupon *Seuthes* gaue hard words to *Heraclides*, for that he had not brought in *Xenophon*. So was *Xenophon* sent for alone. *Xenophon* perceiuing the subtlety of *Heraclides*, and that it was to bring him into suspicion with the other Coronels, tooke vnto him all the other Coronels and Captaines, and went to *Seuthes*. When all were agreed to proceed in the seruice, they marched forward thorow the countrey of the *Thracians*, that are called *Medinophagi*, as far as *Salmydesson*, leauing *Pontus* on their right hand. Here many ships sailing into *Pontus* are shaken and cast on shore, the place being shallow and muddy. The *Thracians* inhabiting that part, setting vp marks and bounds along the Sea, take euery man within his precinct the wreck of that which is cast on shore. Before they had parcelled, and bounded out the ground, they are said to haue killed one another struiuing about the prey. Many beds, many chests, many bookes are found there, and many such other things, as Saylor vs to conueigh in wooden vessels. After these places were brought vnder *Seuthes* his gouernment, the Armie returned. Now had *Seuthes* a greater Armie of his owne, than the *Grecians* were. For many more of the *Odryfians* were come downe vnto him, and alwaies as he subdued any countrey, the people of the countrey ioyned themselves to his seruice. They

Want of pay.

Heraclides his
calumniationes.

The credit of
Xenophon with
the Coronels.

holding from you that, which he hath promised you. We haue neither wronged him in any thing, nor fore-flowed his affaires, nor for feare left any thing vndone, that he hath commanded. But you will say, assurance, that he should not deceite, though he would, was then to be taken. Heare, I pray you, that which I would neuer say against him, were not you too vniust and vnthankfull toward me. For you may remember, in what case you were, when I led you to *Scuthe*. If you were disposed to goe into *Perinthus*, did not *Aristarchus* the *Lacedemonian* shut the gates against you, and keepe you out of the Citie? Encamped you not in the field? Was it not the middest of Winter? The market, you had, how was it furnished? What monie had you wherewith to buy? You must remaine in *Thrace*; for the Gallies lay at anchor forbidding your transport. Remaining there, you must be in the enemies countrie; where there were many Horse and *Pelasts*. You had armed Foot indeed, with which approching the village wee might haue scised vpon corne, though not much; but chace we could not giue, nor take slaues, nor cattle. For I was with you, and neither saw many Horse, nor *Pelasts*. In this necessitie if I ioined *Scuthe* vnto you, who had both Horse and *Pelasts*, when you wanted both, had I not deserued well, albeit I had procured you no pay? For after you were assisted with them, found you not more plentie of corne in the villages, because the *Thracians* were driuen to a speedie flight? And you failed not of captines and cattle; nor saw we an enemy, since we had Horse, whereas before he followed vs boldly with Horse and *Pelasts*, and suffered vs not to disperse in little troopes, or to take prouision in any quantitie. If therefore he, that wrought this securitie for you, had added no pay vnto it, this would haue bene the greatest wrong, you had suffered; and for this were he in your iudgement vnworthy to liue? But now how depart you? Spent you not the Winter in plentie of all things? And for ouer-plus, had you not that, which was giuen you by *Scuthe*? You haue all this while liued vpon the enemy, and neither scene any of the Armie slaine, nor miscarrying alieue. Besides, if you haue done any thing praise-worthy, against the *Barbarians* in *Asia*, you hold your reputation still, and haue added a new praise by ouercomming the *Thracians*, against whom you warred in *Europe*. Truly I affirme, you ought to giue thanks to the gods, as for a benefite, for that, for which you are now angrie with mee. And this is the case, you stand in. Consider further how it is with me. I when I first departed for my countrie, departed from you with your good liking and commendation, and as one, that for your sake, had reputation amongst the rest of the *Grecians*. Besides, I was in credit with the *Lacedemonians*. For otherwise they would not haue sent me to you againe. But now I goe away accused by you to the *Lacedemonians*, and for you am in hatred with *Scuthe*, whom, hauing followed with you, I hoped to haue found a readie receiuer of me and my children, when need should haue bene. And yet you, for whom I am hated of them, that are much more mightie, than my selfe, for whom I cease not, no not enen now, to doe

all

all the good, I can, you I say, that are thus affected toward me, haue me neither running away, nor forsaking you. But if you doe that, which you threaten, know, that you shall put to death a man, that hath broken many a sleepe for you, that hath done many exploits, and bene in many perills with you, and both in part, and in the whole (by the helpe of the gods) hath erected with you many a Trophie against the *Barbarians*, and taken care, that no *Grecians* should hold you for enemies; so that now you may goe without controlment, whither you list either by Sea or Land. Howbeit because you haue the world at will, and may faile whither you of late desired, and they, that are of most might, stand in need of you, and you are offered pay, and the *Lacedemonians* the men, that now are esteemed most powerfull, are come to be your leaders, you haue found a time to take away my life. This was not your minde, when you were in distresse; O you men, that are so kinde rememberers of your well deseruers. Then you called me father, and promised alwaies to bee mindfull of mee, as of your Benefactor. But yet you must not imagine, that these men, which are come for you, are destitute of reason and vnderstanding. For, as I conceiue, they will not thinke the better of you, seeing in what manner you behaue your selues toward mee. After he had spoken thus much, hee kept silence. Then *Charminus* the *Lacedemonian* stood vp and said: I see no iust cause, you haue, to be angry with this man: my selfe can giue him this testimonie, that when I, and *Polymicus* asked *Scuthe*, what *Xenophon* was for a man, he had nothing else to blame him in, but that he loued his Souldiers too well, for which cause he was in lesse esteeme with the *Lacedemonians*, and with him. Then *Eurylochus* the *Lusatian* borne in *Arcadia* standing vp, said: I am of opinion (O *Lacedemonians*) that you may doe vs much kindnesse, if you will be pleased to effect this first worke of a Generall to procure our pay of *Scuthe*, will he, or nill he, & not to leade vs away before we haue it. *Polycrates* the *Athenian* stood vp, and spake for *Xenophon*: I see (O Souldiers) *Heraclides* here present, who taking the prey, which we got, and selling it, neither gaue the price to *Scuthe*, nor to vs; but stole it, and keepeth it himselfe. If we be wise therefore let vs call him to an account. For he is no *Thracian*, but a *Grecian*, and hath wronged *Grecians*. *Heraclides* hearing this was put in a feare, and coming to *Scuthe*; If, quoth he, we loue our selues, let vs be gone out of their fingers, and getting on Hors-backe they spurred to their Campe. After this *Scuthe* sent his Interpreter *Ebozelimus* to *Xenophon* entreating him to stay behinde with 1000 Armed, and promised to deliuer vnto him both the Sea Forts, and also the other things, which he offered vnto him, and willed the Interpreter to tell him in secret, that he heard of *Polymicus*, that if the *Lacedemonians* once got him, he was sure to die by the hands of *Thymbro*. The same newes was sent to *Xenophon* by many of his Hosts, and that he was accused, and was to take heed. He hearing this rooke two sacrifices, and offered to *Iupiter* the King, demanding whether it should be better for him to remaine and rest vpon the condi-

Charminus ex-
cuseth *Xeno-*
phon.

Heraclides the
with-holder of
the pay.

Xenophon in
danger from
the *Lacedemoni-*
ans.
Scuthe.

T 2

ons

Medofades angry with the Grecians, complaineth.

Xenophons answer.

ons propounded by *Scuthes*, or to depart with the army. It was answered, he should depart. Afterward *Scuthes* removed his Campe further off. The *Grecians* quartered in Villages, wherein they might make their best prouision to goe to Sea, which Villages were giuen by *Scuthes* to *Medofades*. When *Medofades* saw the goods of these Villages consumed by the *Grecians*, he grew displeased; and taking with him an *Odryian* one of the chiefeft of them, that came downe to *Scuthes*, and about fiftie Horse-men, he came and called *Xenophon* out of the *Grecian* Campe; who came forth accompanied with some of the Captaines, and with other, such as he thought good. Then, quoth *Medofades*, You offer wrong (*Xenophon*) in waisting our Villages. Therefore we forewarne you, I from *Scuthes*, and this man, from *Medocus*, the King of the vpper Countrey, to depart hence: otherwise you shall not carie it so. For if you harrie the Countrey so, we are resolued to defend our Countrey, as against enemies. *Xenophon*, hearing these things, said: I would hardly answer your accusation, were it not for this young mans sake. We, before we were your friends, ranged this Countrey at our pleasure, waisting what we thought good, and burning what we thought good. And you, when you came Embassador to vs, rested in our Campe without feare of any enemy. Your selues were not in the Countrey, and when you came into it at any time, you remained in your quarters with your Horse bridled, as in a Countrey of enemies, that were too strong for you. Afterwards you became friends to vs, and by our meanes got the possession of the Countrey: and now you seeke to chace vs out of the Land, which by our furtherance you conquered by force (for as you know the enemy was not of strength sufficient to driue vs out) and not only giue vs no gifts for our well deseruing, but as much, as in you lieth, suffer vs not to quarter here at our departure. And speaking these things you neither reuerence the gods, nor this man, who seeth you now suddenly made rich, whereas, before the time you ioined with vs in friendship (as your selfe confessed to me) you led your life in robbrie. But why speake you these things to me? For I haue no longer the command: You, men forsooth worthy to be admired, haue deliuered ouer the Armie to the *Lacedemonians*, not calling me to counsell, that as I offended them, in bringing it to you, so by rendring it vp to them againe, I might be reconciled, & win their fauour. When the *Odryian* heard these things, he said: The rehearfall of these passages (& *Medofades*) strike me vnder the earth; and had I knowne before hand, what your propositions would haue bin, I would neuer haue followed you hither. For King *Medocus* will haue no good opinion of me, if I should ioine with you in chasing away your benefactors. Then *Medofades* (for he was grieved to see the country spoiled) desired *Xenophon* to call the two *Lacedemonians*. He taking with him such as he thought meet, went to *Charminus* and *Polynicus*, and said, *Medofades* would faine speake with you: and desire you (as he did me) to depart the countrey. Now I conceiue, you may, if you please, be a meane to recouer the Armies pay, by telling him, that the Armie befought you to procure

procure it from *Scuthes* either with or against his will; and said, that when they had receiued it, they would willingly follow you; and that they seemed to haue good right so that they demanded, and that you promised them not to depart before they recouered their right. The *Lacedemonians* answered, that they would speake, both what they were informed, and any thing else, which they thought to be purpose, and presently they went forth, taking such with them as they liked of. *Charminus* comming where *Medofades* was, said: I haue you any thing to say to vs, *Medofades*? If not, we haue to say to you. *Medofades* then very humbly, I, quoth he, and *Scuthes* desire this; that being friends we suffer no hostilitie at your hands. For what harme doe you doe to these countrey-folke, you doe it to vs, whose subiects they are. The *Lacedemonians* answered, we are ready to depart, as soone as they, by whose meanes you enioy the land, are satisfied for their pay. If not, we come to assist them, and to punish such, as wrong them contrary to their bath. If you be the men, we will begin to doe right upon you. Then said *Xenophon*: Are you content, *Medofades*, to giue them in whose countrey you are, seeing you say they are your friends, authoritie to determine, whether you, or we, shall leaue the countrey. He would not heare of that, but desired the two *Lacedemonians* to goe to *Scuthes* about the pay, and thought that *Scuthes* would not denie it. If not, to send *Xenophon* with him, and promised to set to his helping hand. Besides he desired forbearance of burning the Villages. Thereupon they dispatched *Xenophon* away, with such other men, as they thought conuenient. When he came to *Scuthes*, he vsed this speech: I am come to you (& *Scuthes*) not as a suiter for any thing, but only to shew, you haue no cause to be angry with me, for that I laboured to obtaine the Souldiers pay, which you cheerefully promised at their first comming to you. For I thought it was no lesse profitable for you to giue it, than for them to take it; and I knew, that these men, next after the gods, were they that set you in so conspicuous a place, making you King of a large Territorie, and of much people, that whether you doe good or euill, it cannot be kept in secret. And I am of opinion, that it is a matter of great consequence in such a man, as you are, not to seeme to send away your benefactors ingratfully, and without recompence, and of as great to be well spoken of by good men; but the greatest is, not to derogate credit from your owne word. For I see the word of false men wandereth vp and downe vaine, and weak, and void of honour. But such as are knowne to speake truth, obtaine as much by request; as other men doe by force, and in corrections their threatnings are as powerfull, as other mens punishments, and in promises they are beleued no lesse, than they that giue assurance. You should doe well also to call to minde, what you gaue vs, when you made vs your confederates. I know you gaue nothing; but being beleued to say true, you animated so many men to follow you, and to purchase you such a kingdome, as is worth not 50 talents (as much as is thought to be due to these men) but manifold times more. First therefore sell not

The two *Lacedemonians* are meanes to recouer the Souldiers pay.

Xenophon sent to *Scuthes* about the pay.

His words to *Scuthes*.

A Talent is valued at 175 li. sterling, and 50 Talents are 8750 li. sterling.

for that little money, that is due to the Souldiers, your credit, where-
 by you haue purchased this Kingdome. Then I would haue you confi-
 der, how highly you eſteemed the compaſſing of that, which you haue
 obtained. I make no doubt if it were vndone, you would wiſh it effe-
 cted, rather than to poſſeſſe much more riches than is demanded. For
 my part I hold it a greater affront and ſhame, now not to continue the
 poſſeſſion, than at firſt not to haue gained it, by how much it is harder
 for a rich man to endure pouertie, than not to haue bene rich, and to fall
 from a Kingdome to a priuate eſtate, than at firſt, not to haue reigned.
 Doe you not know, that they, who are now your ſubiects, obey you at
 this time not for friendſhip, but for neceſſitie? and that they would at-
 tempt their freedome againe, were they not held in by feare. Whether
 then thinke you, they will more feare and reſpect you when they ſee theſe
 Souldiers ready to ſtay, if you deſire them, or quickly returne, if you
 need them, and that other beſides hearing their good report of you, will
 attend your ſeruice, when you ſhall pleaſe to vſe them; or if they con-
 ceiuie, that other will reſuſe you, becauſe they beleeuie you not, and theſe
 now here beare a better opinion of them, than of you? Nay they were
 brought vnder your ſubiectiō, not becauſe they were fewer in number
 than we, but for want of good Commanders. Therefore there is dan-
 ger alſo in this, leſt they chuſe ſome of them Commanders, who thinke
 they are wronged by you, or elſe the *Lacedemonians*, who are of more
 power, to whom the Souldiers wil doubtleſſe be more zealous in ſeruice,
 if they compell you to render to them the arrearages of pay, and the
Lacedemonians will ſooner conſent, becauſe they ſtand in need of the
 Armie. This alſo is not obſcure, that the *Thracians* brought vnder your
 ſubiectiō will more cheerfully take Armes againſt you, than with you.
 For if you preuaile, they muſt become your ſlaues, as they muſt be free,
 if you be ouercome. And accounting the Countrey your owne, whether
 thinke you it will be better preſerued from ſpoile if theſe Souldiers re-
 ceiuing their claime depart in peaceable manner, or if they ſtay here, as
 it were in an enemies Territorie, and force you to leuie more, than they
 are, againſt them, which muſt alſo be fed vpon the Countrey? Now for
 Money, whether imagine you, will be the greater expence to pay them
 that you owe, or this debt ſtill remaining due, to wage other Souldiers
 by aid of whom you may ouer-maſter theſe? But the debt ſeemeth a
 great ſumme to *Heraclides*, as he told me himſelfe. Whether then is it
 not much eaſier now to take it vp and pay it, than it was to take vp the
 tenth part of it before we came vnto your ſeruice? For it is not the
 quantitie, that maketh much or little, but the abilitie of him that giues,
 or receiues; and your yeerely reuenuie is now more, than the worth of
 all, you poſſeſſed before. Theſe things did I forecaſt in minde, as your
 friend, that both you might ſeeme worthy of that, which the gods haue
 beſtowed vpon you, and I not leeſe my reputation with the Armie. For
 you know well, that at this preſent I can neither harme an enemy, nor
 ſuccour you hereafter, though I would neuer ſo faine: Such is the
 affection

affection of the Armie toward me. And I take your ſelfe, and the gods,
 that know all things, to witneſſe, that I haue neither receiued any thing of
 you in regard of them, nor demanded ought of theirs to my priuat vſe,
 no nor any of thoſe things, you promiſed me. And I ſweare further vnto
 you, I would neuer haue taken gift of yours, vnleſſe the Souldiers had
 receiued that, which is their owne. For it would be a ſhame for me, ha-
 uing been ſo much honoured by them, to procure mine owne aduantage,
 and neglect theirs. But *Heraclides* eſteemeth all things trifles, ſaue only
 money, howſoeuer it is gotten. I contrariwiſe (& *Seuthes*) thinke, that a
 man (eſpecially a Ruler) can haue no fairer poſſeſſions, than Vertue, Iu-
 ſtice, & Generoſitie. The poſſeſſor of theſe is enriched with many friends
 for the preſent, and enriched with other that hereafter will ſeek for his
 friendſhip; and in good fortune he hath them, that will reioice with him;
 in ill, that will be readie to aſſiſt and helpe him. But if by my deeds you
 perceiued not, that I was your friend from my heart, nor yet knew it by
 my words, remember notwithstanding the words of the Souldiers. For
 you were preſent and heard, what was ſpoken by them, that ſought to
 bring me into hatred; who charged me to the *Lacedemonians* that I made
 more account of you, than of the *Lacedemonians*, and for themſelues like-
 wiſe, that I more regarded your well-fare, than theirs. They ſaid I had
 receiued gifts of you. And when they accuſed me of theſe gifts, do you
 thinke, they ſaw in me an ill affection toward you, or rather a deſire to do
 you ſeruice? I am of this minde, that whoſoeuer receiueth gifts, he ought
 to loue and eſteeme of him, that is the giuer. Before I came to your ſer-
 uice, you entertained me kindly in countenance, and in words, and hoſ-
 pitall gifts, & made no end of promiſes: now you haue compaſſed your
 deſire, and are as great, as I can make you, ſeeing the ſmall eſtimation the
 Souldiers haue me in, you dare contemne me. But I firmly beleeuie, time
 will teach you, that this money is to be paid, and that you will giue no
 cauſe of complaint to thoſe, that haue ſo well deſerued at your hands.
 Only this is my deſire, that when you pay it, you would haue a care to
 reſtore me to the ſame place with the Souldiers, wherein you found me
 at the firſt. *Seuthes* hearing this, curſed him, that was the cauſe; why the
 Souldiers were not paid long before (euery man imagined he meant *He-
 raclides*) For I, quoth *Seuthes*, will pay the arrearages; and neuer had in
 minde to defraud the Souldiers of the leaſt part of their due. Then
 ſpake *Xenophon* againe: Seeing it is your pleaſure to make paiement, let me
 entreat you to doe it by my hands, and not to ſee me in worſe caſe with
 the Souldiers for your cauſe, than I was, when I came to your ſeruice.
Seuthes answered: You ſhall not by my meanes. But if you will ſtay
 with me and hold with you 1000 Armed, I will giue you the Townes,
 and other things I promiſed you. *Xenophon* told him, it could not be, as
 matters ſtood. But I pray, quoth he, ſend vs away. I know, quoth *Seuthes*,
 it will be ſafer for you to remaine here, than to depart. *Xenophon* againe
 replied: I thanke you for your care of me, but I cannot ſtay. Howbeit
 whereſoeuer I become, the more eſtimation I haue, it ſhall not be the
 worſe

Seuthes asſen-
 teth to pay the
 Souldiers.

The pledges
of the *Thracians*
that gaue the
Camisado to
Xenophon
before.

The Armie sa-
tisfied.

Xenophon bani-
shed his coun-
trei for follow-
ing *Cyrus*, who
was a friend to
the *Lacedemoni-
ans*.
Lampiscus a Ci-
tie in *Asia* the
lesse.

Xenophon not
greedy of
riches.

An Epithet gi-
uen to *Iupiter*,
signifying fa-
uourable or
gentle.

A Citie in the
country *Troas*.

*Xenophon*s horse
released, being
pawned.
32 li. 10 s.

worfe for you. Then, quoth *Seuthes*, I haue no money, but a little, *viz.* one Talent, which I will deliuer vnto you, but you shall haue 600 Oxen, 4000 Sheepe, and 120 Captiues. Taking these, and the pledges of them, that wronged you, goe your waies. Then *Xenophon* smiling, said: If these suffice not to make vp the pay, whose Talent shall I say I haue? But seeing I cannot depart hence without danger, is it not better to stay here, and take heed of stones? For you heard their threatnings. So he remained there. The next day *Seuthes* deliuered that which he promised, and sent men to driue the cattell. The Souldiers in the meane time gaue out, that *Xenophon* was gone to remaine with *Seuthes*, and to receiue the things which were promised him. But when they saw him come, they reioyced, and ran to meet him. *Xenophon* as soone as he saw *Charminus* and *Polynicus*, You, quoth he, are the men that haue pre- serued these things for the Souldiers, and I deliuer them into your hands, dispose you of the sale, and deliuer the price to the Souldiers. They taking and appointing men to sell them, raised money for the Souldiers, but not without imputation of much corruption. *Xenophon* came not neere, but openly made ready to goe to his countrey. For it was not yet signified vnto him, that he was banished, but some especiall men of the Armie came vnto him, desiring him not to depart, till he had conducted the Armie, and deliuered it vnto *Thymbro*. From thence they sailed ouer to *Lampsacus*, where *Euclides* the *Phliasian* Soothsayer, the sonne of *Cleagoras*, who painted the dreames in the *Lycaum*, met *Xenophon*. He was glad to see *Xenophon* in health, and asked him, how much gold he had. Who swore he had not enough to bring him home, vnlesse he sold his horse, and other things, which were about him. *Euclides* beleued him not: but when the *Lampsacens* sent hospitall gifts to *Xenophon*, and *Xenophon* offering sacrifice to *Apollo*, desired *Euclides* to be at the sacrifice, *Euclides* then looking vpon the Sacrifice, said; he beleued now that *Xenophon* had no money: and I know, quoth he, if hereafter you happen to get any, you will haue an impediment, if no other, you will be an impediment to your selfe. *Xenophon* confessed this to be true. *Euclides* proceeded: *Iupiter Milichius*, quoth he, will hinder you. He further asked him, whether he had sacrificed, as I, quoth he, am wont for you at home, and burne the whole beast. *Xenophon* said, he had not offred to that god all the time of his trauell. *Euclides* aduised him there- fore to sacrifice vnto the god, & your affaires, said he, will prosper better. The next day *Xenophon* marching on to *Ophrynum* sacrificed, and burnt whole Hogs, after his countrey manner. The same day came *Bito*, and *Euclides* to pay the Armie; and they were *Xenophon*s guests, and they re- leased and restored to *Xenophon* (refusing to take the price of the redemp- tion) the horse, which he had pawned at *Lampsacus* for 50 *Daricks*, sus- pecting he pawned him for need, because they heard that he delighted in him. Then marching thorow the Territorie of *Troy*, and passing ouer *Ide*, they came first to *Antandrum*, and then held on along the Sea side of *Lydia* to the Plaine of *Thebe*. From thence marching forward by *Adra- myttium*

myttium and *Certennium* (not farre from *Alarna*) to the Plaine of *Caycus*, they reached to *Pergamus* a Citie of *Lydia*. Here *Hellas* the wife of *Gongylus* the *Eretrian*, mother of *Gorgyon* and *Gongylus* entertained *Xenophon* for her guest. Shee told him, that *Afidates* a *Perisian* was in the Plaine. If you goe by night, quoth shee, with 300 men, you may take him, his wife, and children, and much riches. Shee gaue him for Guides her co- sin germane, and *Daphnagoras* a speciall friend of hers. *Xenophon* there- fore hauing these with him offered sacrifice. *Agasias* the *Eleam* sooth- sayer being present, said, that the entrailes were faire, and that *Afidates* might be taken prisoner. They went to supper, and after supper *Xeno- phon* taking the Captaines to him, that were his best friends, and had al- waies bene faithfull vnto him, and therefore desiring to doe them a kindnesse, proceeded on his iourney, There went also with him, whe- ther he would or no, other about 600 Souldiers. But the Captaines posted away before to prevent them of partage, as though the money had bene ready to their hands. Comming to the place about midnight, they suffered the slaues, that lay neere the Castle, and many other things to slip away, their care being only to take *Afidates* and his companie. When they could not take the Castle by assault (for it was high and great, and had many bulwarks & defendants expert in fight) they went about to sap the foot thereof. The wall was of the thicknesse of eight bricks. By breake of day it was pierced thorow, and when it was light one of the defendants strooke him that stood next, thorow the thigh with an Oxe-goad, and further with their arrowes they made it dangerous for any man to approach to the Tower, or come in fight. When those in the Castle made an outcry, and put out fire for a signe, *Isabelius* with his owne forces, and with the Garrison of *Comania*, being armed foot, and with about 80 *Hircanian* horsemen (which were in the Kings pay) and other *Peliasis* about 800 came to rescous. Other also out of *Parthenion*, other out of *Apollonia*, and the neighbour Cities, being horsemen. Now was it time to thinke, how our Retreat should be made. Therefore ta- king the Oxen and other cattell, and the captiues, and couching them within a hollow square, they hasted away, not so much thinking vpon the riches, as that (if they should depart, leauing that behinde them, which they had gotten) their Retreat might seeme a plaine running away; besides that, that the enemy would grow into heart, and the Soul- diers be discouraged. Now they retreated fighting, as it were, for the prey. When *Gongylus* saw the *Grecians* so few, and the enemy, that pres- sed them, so many in number, he by compulsion of his mother issued out with his owne forces to be partaker of the fray. And *Procles* out of *Alisarna*, and *Tenthranias*, who was descended from *Demaratus*, came likewise to rescous. *Xenophon*s souldiers being overlaid with arrowes and lings, casting themselues into a Ring, to the end to oppose their armes against the arrowes, with much adoe passed ouer the riuier *Caycus*, well- nigh halfe of them being wounded. Amongst the number of whom was *Agasias* the *Stymphalian*, who continued the fight against the enemy

Xenophon vpon
an exploit.

Sapping of a
Castle.

A signe for
succour.

Isabelius was
noted by
*Xenophon*s re-
treat.

A Ring.
ποσειδωνος
υλης.

during the whole Retreat. Thus they came safe home, hauing 200 captiues, and cattell sufficient for sacrifice. *Xenophon* sacrificing the next day, led out his Armie by night, that he might goe as far as he could into *Lydia*, and giue no cause of teare to the enimie by being so neere, but make him negligent vpon his guard. *Asiades* hearing that *Xenophon* had the second time sacrificed about him, and that he was marching with all his Armie, went out of his Castle, and lodged in the Villages not farre from the Citie *Parthenium*. There *Xenophon*s souldiers lighted vpon him, and tooke him prisoner, and his wife, and his children, and his horse, and all that he had. So that the former sacrifice tooke effect now. Afterward they returned backe againe to *Pergamus*; and thenceforth *Xenophon* had no cause to complaine of that god. For the *Lacedemonians* also, and Captaines, and Souldiers consented to giue him an extraordinary share, of horse, and oxen, and other things; so that he was thereby able to gratifie a friend. Not long after came *Thymbro*, and tooke the Armie, and ioyning it to the rest of the *Grecian* forces made warre against *Tissa*; *hermes*.

These were the Gouvernours of the Kings Prouinces, that we iournied thorow: *Artymas* of *Lydia*, *Artacamas* of *Phrygia*, *Mithridates* of *Lycania* and *Cappadocia*; of *Cilicia*, *Synefis*; of *Phaenicia* and *Arabia*, *Dernes*; of *Syria* and *Assyria*, *Belelis*; of *Babylonia*, *Roparas*; of *Media*, *Arbacus*; of the *Phasians* and *Hesperites*, *Tribazus*: The *Carduchans*, *Chalybes*, *Chaldaans*, *Macrons*, *Chalcians*, *Mosynacans*, *Coitans*, and *Tibarens*, are people vnder no mans subiection. *Paphlagonia* is ruled by *Corylas*, the *Bithynians* by *Pharnabazus*, the *European Thracians* by *Senches*. The totall number of the Ascent and Descent is 215 Encampings, 1150 *Parasangs*, 34255 Furlongs. The time of the Ascent and Descent one yeere and three moneths.

FINIS.

Asiades taken
prisoner.

Xenophon re-
warded with a
large portion.

4281 mile, and
more.



A COMPARISON OF
THE ROMANE MANNER OF
WARRE, WITH THIS OF OUR TIME;
OVT. OF THE END OF THE FIFTH
Booke of IVSTVS LIPSIVS,
De Militia Romana.



We haue considered 5. things in the *Roman* warfare: their Musters, their Armes, their degrees & distribution of Bands, their Embattelling, and their Discipline. To make a true comparison betwixt our manner of warre and theirs, we must weigh the one with the other in equall ballance of all these generalities, and obserue by the consequents and advantages, which of them is to be preferred before other.

Therefore to speake first of Musters, it is no doubt but that they vsed an excellent course in making choice of the best & most honest men. Which notwithstanding will hardlie at this daie be imitated by vs, as our fashions and gouernment are; vnlesse happilie it be in some Free-estate. But they amongst vs are few, or else but weake. And the *Venetian* alone, which is of meanes and abilitie sufficient; for certaine priuate regards debarreth her people for the most part from seruice: I except the seruice of the Sea. Kings and Princes will not be tied to this *Romane* forme, and haue their causes. It would be hard to rate their Souldiers after such a Subsidie or Assessment; and scarce safe to allow them the like libertie of Armes. But of things of this nature we haue discoursed in our Politikes. Now I hold thus much, that euerie Prince may to his great commoditie, deuise another course than is in vse now adaies in Musters. It is not vnknowne what the *Turke* doth in his *Ianizars*. I would haue many or few Legions (according to abilitie or reuenues of State) be leuiued of fit men, and bound and framed to seruice from their youth, till a prefixed time.

Musters.

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time. There is an Art of handling of Armes, and the profeffion of the name, or the countenance or apparell changed, make not by and by a Souldier. But I referre you againe to my Politikes, and the notes, which I purpofe to fet forth.

Ordo. The next thing is the degrees and diuifion of Bands, after they are leuiued. O how good was this amongst the *Romans* in all refpects? The diftribution of the parts apt: the greater bodie of the Legions, the principall members the *Cohorts*, the *Lymmes*, the *Maniples* themfelues. Looke into the placing of Leaders, and Captaines, Enfignes, Lieutenants, there is nothing too much, nothing wanting, all for vfe, nothing for pompe or burthen. Let that, which I haue fpoken, be confidered of. Much may be borrowed from thence for the good of feruice in Generall, much alfo for the good of the Treafurie.

Arma. Armes come in the third place. Here they fay, We goe by the worft. They make Sport when we enter into fpeech of thefe matters; they tread downe and fpurne with their feet, Slings, Darts, Arrowes, only in regard of thefe our Guns: and boldly giue out that no *Romane* army had euer beene able to endure thefe thunderbolts and crackes, efpecially if they had beene beaten with the greater and more violent kinde of Ordinance. Thefe, and more than thefe are their vaunts, which a man skilfull of Antiquities would not be to feeke to answer and refute.

First, where they fo lightly eftime of all thefe flying weapons, I fcarcely beleue they well know their might. How much doe Slings differ in effect and force (for their forme is verie different) from our fmal fhott? this at the firft hearing feemeth a thing worthy of laughter; but examine it with me. Both the bullets be of Lead: neither is there much diuerfitie betwixt their greatneffe or fhape; nor yet do the Slings much giue place in power or violence. I muft beleue thofe, which haue feene it, and which were in the ancient warres euen then, when thefe Engines were managed with Art and vfe. They therefore write, that which may equall, if not preferre them before Guns.

Concerning violence, it is fo forceable in a Sling vnladen with skill, that the verie bullet hath beene often molten with fire conceiued in flying. This appeareth by the testimonie of *Lucretius*, *Ouid*, *Lucan*, and *Statius*. Doe you not happily credit Poets? Let the Philofopher come. *Seneca* affirmeth, that *Motion doth extenuate the aire, and extenuation inflame it: So doth a bullet throwne out of a Sling melt, and diftilleth by the attrition of the aire, as by fire.*

The like is found written in *Aristotle*: And yet it lofeth not his force, but being fo on fire pierceth the bodie. *Virgill*.

*With molten Lead his Temples twaine difparted fand,
His lims extended lie vpon the yellow fand.*

It killeth with one blow. And I maruell not that *Dauid*, being both young and a Slinger, did ouerthrow the monftrous *Goliath* with this weapon. And that you may at once, and fully know the vertue thereof, heare what *Diodorus Siculus* faith of the inhabitants of the Iles *Baleares*. They throw

and the Moderne Warres.

throw ftones (for you know that thefe alfo, not only Lead are deliuered out of Slings) much greater than other Slingers, and with fuch ftiffeneffe and ftrength, that the blow feemeth to come from fome Engine. You fee he compareth it with an Engine. And he addeth further, that it pierceth Targets and Caskes, and all defence of Armour. I denie that there can be greater force in fmall fhott, and perhaps there is not fo great, except in Muskets onely. Now the Slings are much better in one refpect, that they reach and hurt a great way further. Which of our fmall Peecces carrieth his force point blanke, about 200. or 300. foot? It fainteth or ftraieeth from the marke, if you aime further off. But the bullet of a Sling hath carried his full ftrength 600. foot, as you may finde it cleerely expreffed in *Vegetius*. The archers & flingers fet vp for a marke Befomes, that is, bundles of twigs, or graffe, fo that being 600. foot diftant from the marke, they hit it with arrowes and with ftones throwne out of a Sling. He ioyneth it here with arrowes, and giueth the diftance, I fpake of, to either of them. But there are other, that preferre it before arrowes, and hold that the sling-bullet outflieth them. You fhall reade in *Strabo*: That a Sling carrieth further than a Bow: In *Dio*; The Slingers ouer-reaching the Archers did hurt all, yea the armed men. This he reporteth in the expedition of *Marcus Antonius* againft the *Parthians*; who notwithstanding, as all agree, were well armed, and fpecill good Archers: and yet Slingers were too good for them. Which *Xenophon* alfo writeth plainly in the acts of his countrey-men the *Grecians*. For the *Rhodian* Slingers, faith he, reached further than the *Persian*, and than many of the Archers. Therefore they reached farre.

But went they neere the marke? All teftifie they did, efpecially the Islanders of the *Baleares*; and that they learned this certainty in throwing euen from their Cradle.

Alfo you may reade in the Bible, that feuen hundred or thereabouts, of the Inhabitants of *Gabaa* were fo good marke-men with a Sling that they could hit you a haire. Enough of Slings.

Some fay that Gunnes doe more terrifie by reafon of their found. I grant it. But whom doe they terrifie? Birds? For I cannot thinke that true Souldiers will be moued with their found or fire light; vnleffe perhaps at the firft. And truly I am of opinion, that if the *Romans* had ioined battell with vs, they would at the firft haue feared the fhew and reports of our Peecces: But at the firft only. After they had difcerned the truth they would haue been the fame, they were wont; efpecially fo armed, they would by couering themfelues with their Targets haue weakened or made vaine the ftroke of the Bullet.

And for great Ordinance I fee no reafon to repute it fo terrible, in as much as thofe, that haue had the experience, cleerely confefle, that they neuer faw battell broken by this kinde of Artillerie. A plaine Hillocke, or Rampier, or top of a Trench in the way breaketh the force of this fo terrible Engine. Thefe things are knowne to Souldiers; and excepting at the fiege of Townes, this Engine ferueth rather for a fhew, than to worke

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worke great mafteries in the warres. I omit the difaduantages which follow it, and forbear to oppofe and bend againft it the *Roman* Engines. This matter requireth a larger difcourfe, and is to be referred for fome other place.

I come to Darts, which they likewife fport at. Yet haue they this commodity, that they are fit for readie & speedie feruice, and at all times and places. It is not fo in Guns, which haue a time both to be charged and alfo difcharged, and hinderance from raine and other casualties. And doe not Darts outreach them? I obferue that they are matched with Arrowes by *Homer*, in whom *Plyffes* glorieth thus of himfelfe :

I caft a Dart as farre, as other doe an Arrow fhoot.

Although this attributed to *Plyffes* is not commonly true, and the Arrow flieth further of both. But how much? The proportion is expreffed in *Statius* :

As far as Arrowes fly at thrice, and foure times with a Dart you throw.

He meafureth out a Theater for Plaies and defcribeth it: And it was fo much ground, faith he, as you can reach with cafting a Dart foure times, and fhooting an Arrow thrice. Therefore an Arrow reached further than a Dart by a fourth part of diftance. And if that flew fix hundred foot, then this foure hundred and aboue. So that I haue good caufe to fmile at the affeueration of an *Italian* Writer, one yet skilfull in thefe things, who constantly denieth that any Arme is of force fufficient to throw a Stone or other weapon fortie Paces. Peace man, and belecue a thing fo common in all antiquitie. And had thefe Darts any force? You haue feene in the kinde of Dart called *Pilum* : whereof I haue entreated in my third Booke. Will you heare of another kinde?

The *Spaniards*, *Gaules*, and fometimes the *Romans*, vfed a Dart called *Tragula*. Of it doth, I know not what Writer report in *Suidas* : *Cotta* fought with a weapon, that is tearmed *Tragula*, which he threw fo violently, that thorow *Curace*, and fides, he faftened to the earth, as with a naile, whomfoeuer he hit. A Gods name what Armes were thefe? how growne in ftrength either by Nature, or by Skill gotten through exercife? I will fay nothing of Arrowes. Both they were in eftimation within the memorie of man, and peraduenture they are now altogether giuen ouer not vpon the beft aduice. I finde in *Plutarks Crassus*, that the *Partian* Arrowes forced all kinde of Armor : In *Agathias* the Hiftorian, that Arrowes fhut by the hand of one *Aligernus* a *Goth*, paffed thorow a mans body, *Target*, *Curace*, and all. And that you will maruell at, if they fell vpon a ftone, or other hard thing not eafie to be broken, they fhivered it to fifters with the violence of the blow. Looke your felfe, if you please, in *Procopius*, what he writeth euerie where of the Archers of his age. I only take this out of him : That an Arrow was put off with that force, that neither *Curace*, nor *Target*, could make refiftance. This may fuffice for light-weapons, which notwithstanding are the principall in our warres. They try the whole encounter, and ftraight either gaine or lofe the Field. True and lafting fights are only now to be read of. I

speake

Tragula.

Arrowes.

and the Moderne Warres.

speake not all this becaufe I hold the ancient weapons better, than thofe we now vfe, but only to fhew that they are not to be contemned, and that fome of them are to be taken vp at this day, and to be mingled with ours. This would be a gallant and profitable manner of feruice, if it were handled by men ripe in exercife, otherwife thefe weapons are not worth a pinne.

Now for the fafhion of arming the *Romans*, what can be alleaged, why it fhould not be the beft of all other?

A man was armed from head to foot, his legges not vncouered, and had a large *Target*, a principall defence both for Horfe and Foot. I affirme that there is no Armor of more vfe, than the *Target*. But our floth, or rafhneffe, hath caft it cleane out of doores. Some neighbours yet retaine it, as the *Poifh* Horfe-men, and *Turks*. We, as I faid, haue flothfully laid it downe, or elfe carelefly ; as though we were fafe by contempt of things feruing for our defence. Yet I vrge it not, becaufe I fee fuch as haue written of warre, acknowledge this fault, and exhort to amendment. Surely the moft of our men are vnarmed, and what elfe, but to be compared to *velitarie* bands? open to hurts, and therefore fearefull, becaufe nature, carefull of her felfe, compelleth to feare. I fpeake not of Pike-men, whom we arme according to the laudable cuftome of the *Macedonians*. And yet we haue few of them, I meane we *Netherlanders*, or *French*. The *Spaniards* haue, I confefle, who alfo by a prouerbe doe rearme the Pike Queene of weapons. The *Swiffes* moft of all, who in times paff were famous in this kinde of fight, and the true *Phalangites*. But now they begin to vfe them more fparingly, and to mingle other kindes of light weapons with them.

And what is mine opinion? I deliuer it not, becaufe *Polybius* hath fpoken fufficiently for me, where he compareth the *Roman* and *Macedonian* Armes of purpofe. What can I bring more wife, or more found, than is by him alleaged? Notwithftanding this is my iudgement : That the *Romans* good and pliable to imitate all good things vfed few Pikes, and in *Marins* and *Cafars* time they gaue ouer thofe, that the *Triary* did beare. The caufe was, for that it is no conuenient weapon for a battell marfhalled and diftinguifhed into Maniples. It ought to be a large and coherent body, where Pikes are of force; being diuided they are vnprofitable. Further, but few Pikes ferue to much purpofe in a great body, feeing the firft Rankes only can charge them, and the reft giue no further helpe, than by thrufting on with their bodies. Moreouer, fuch a battell vnmooueable for the moft part, & vniforme, is ftrong only in Front : it can hardly turne vpon the fuddaine and not breake. Laftly, he that carrieth that weapon, hath almoft no vfe of any other (yet the *Macedonians* had alfo a Hurling-ftaffe) and fpecially he cannot fitly beare or wield a great *Target*. The *Romans* confidered thefe things, and perhaps more than thefe. And albeit they often endangered *Phalanges*, and fometimes with their owne danger (as *Paulus Emilius* is faid to haue quaked at the fight of a thicke *Phalange* coming on with their Pikes charged) yet did they more

Armour.

The Target.

Pikes.

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more eſteeme their owne weapons, and iudge them better for all kinde of ſervice. For they themſelves were able to fight in all kindes, in Front, in Flanke, and behinde, and alſo were able all to ſerue, as occaſion ſerued. As in a body it is beſt, when all parts are aſtiue and euerie one fit for his office; ſo is it in a battell: for, as *Liuy* ſaith, The *Phalange* is vnmoũeable and of one kinde, the *Roman* battell conſiſting of many parts, eaſie to be diuided, eaſie to be ioined and knit together, if uſe require. Adde that the *Romans* could range and vnite themſelves in rough and vneuen grounds, the *Phalange*, which conſiſteth of thickeſſe and depth, could not to any purpoſe. And therefore if a ditch, hill, hedge, or other thing came in the way, it was preſently diſioyned, and the *manipular* Battalion inſinuated it ſelfe into the void ſpaces, and ſo ouerthrew the *Phalange*. And yet I denie not, that Pikes are of good uſe in our cuſtomes & fights, eſpecially againſt horſemen, whoſe charge they notably ſuſtaine and repulſe. But what need is of them in the *Roman* manner of arming? when the *Velites* for the moſt part gaue the firſt charge in the Front, and made the horſes ſtand off; if they could not, the *Legionarie* ſouldier with his Darts did eaſily ſtay, or put them to flight. This weapon was heauy and powerfull, whereof euery ſouldier carried a couple; ſo that they might very well put the horſe to retreat with defence of their great Targets, or elſe with threatning the point (as I conceiue) of the other Dart, eſpecially being knit together ſhoulder to ſhoulder and cloſe. This I am ſure of, that the *Roman* battell was ſeldome broken by the impreſſion of the horſemen only, which is commonly ſeene at this day. What? will you ſay not by the *Parthians*? Yes. But marke that I ſpake of impreſſion. The *Parthians* did for the moſt part ouerwhelme the *Romans* with their arrowes aſtarre off, and neuer came to the ſhock. Therefore they ouerthrew them not, but by little and little wounded and waſted them by coming on and retiring after their manner. The ſame would befall our Pikemen through the enemies ſhot, were they not answered with like weapons, and with horſemen. Wherefore I thus reſolue concerning Pikes, that they were not neceſſarie for the *Romans*, and yet are profitable for vs, and ſo would be, although we ſhould take vp the *Roman* armour in part. I haue ſcene ſome that would haue them mingled, and would haue *maniples* armed partly with Swords and Targets, partly with Pikes. Let Commanders and men of experience conſider thereof.

Acies.

The fourth thing is Embattailing, which if I ſhould account perfect and ſound at all hands in the *Roman* manner of raunging, Reaſon would be on my ſide. In the Front were the *Haſtati*, the weakeſt; next after them the *Principes*, more ſtrong; then the *Triarij*, ſtrongeſt of all, that the enemy might be weakned and ſpent by degrees. The horſemen were placed on the Flanks, to ſaue the Battell from enuironing and encompaſſing: and if the enemies horſe charged the *Romans* front, then were the *Roman* horſe to giue on their flanke. I need not repeat many things, I haue diſcourſed before. But this is of greateſt marke, and a principall

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cipall matter for victorie, that the Battalions haue their ſpaces and intervals, and the *Velites* in them or before them. So that the *Statarie* ſouldier ſerueth the *Velites* for retreat, that they may without danger entertaine, or forſake the ſkirmiſh at their pleaſure. Goe to, ſay the whole Band of the *Velites* is defeated and of no uſe, what inconuenience is it? The Ranks ſtand entire, and the *Velites* being wiſely kept vnmixt and diuided from them, the *Statarie* ſouldier thinketh not that hee hath loſt any thing by the ouerthrow of the *Velites*. Therefore they enter the fight freſh and whole, and nothing impaired in body or minde, and to be ſhort, with aſſuredneſſe and certainty of retreat into the intervals. Conſider you Commanders, this is a great ſecret, that your ſouldier be bold and confident, fight with hope of victorie, being compelled retreats without feare of ignomie or danger. So was it amongſt the *Romans* by reaſon of their triple battell of their *Haſtati*, *Principes* and *Triarij*, which laſt vnderooke the maine danger with aſſurance of their owne ſtrength. There were the Commanders, there the Standard, there the old ſouldier, and in ſumme there was Victory becauſe Valour was there. Packe away you *Turks* with your *Ianizars*, which vſurpe a manner of reſemblance, but a falſe reſemblance of the ancient diſcipline. If it were a true one, we had not now beene. For I reſt out of doubt of this, if the ancient were ioyned to theſe our new-found Armes, and withall the true marſhalling of Bands and kinde of embattailing vſed, the old and new World would ſhortly be ſubieſt to one man. O ſecret truly heauenly, which men rather gheſſe at than vnderſtand, and which gouerneſt this world with a wonderfull temper, bridleſt, or aduanceſt the wicked, and liſteſt vp or throweſt downe the good, euen as they depart from or come to thee. I diſplay not my wings neerer to this Sunne, leſt I melt, or be conſumed; but I cry with a free voice, Hee that will attaine to Glory or Empire, let him turne to the ancient Diſcipline. For ſurely if our light ſouldiers (ſo I call ſhort) were mixt betweene the *Maniples* and before the *Maniples* of the armed with intervals and diſtances for retreat, and that againſt the horſe and armed foot; what battell durſt aſſaile, nay what battell could reſiſt vs? For in regard hereof our men ſhould be alwaies fit to charge, fit to retire for a ſecond charge. All which notwithstanding is to be done with long uſe and exerciſe, leſt they trouble vs in the doing. I call you to witneſſe, you Commanders, that I ſpeake truth. Imitate it then in good faith, but againſt them that oppugne the Faith.

There are many things in particular concerning ordering of Battels, whereof we might giue a taſte, but precepts wee cannot now giue; and theſe depend vpon a wit truly martiall, that is, fiery and high. He that can, let him conceiue; he that cannot, let him yeeld and be beaten. Thus much I admoniſh, that herein may be found

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out a large field of *Stratagems*, and that no other meanes hath gained more victories or trophies. Whatsoever is vnlooked for troubleth the enemy, provided that it disorder not thy owne. Let that be a certaine and infallible rule. For every small inuention is not by and by to be embraced or of efficacie, but only such a one, as is squared out by circumspection and heed. He ought to be an *Argus*, that is a Commander, and to haue eyes in his backe, forehead, head, and feet. And yet all things are easie to be ordered, where this common good order hath his being. Giue mee *Cohorts*, giue mee *Maniples* so placed one to second another, so ordered, so wonted to ioyne, or disioyne, I will alwayes undertake to haue the body of a battaile in readinesse, such as your selfe or occasion require.

Discipline.

Discipline is the last. Alas of what should I make comparison? Would I could finde any colour or shew to begin. But howsoever the ancient Discipline be esteemed, at this day there is none at all; and so those that haue bene Souldiers will confesse. O shame, ô dishonour. The *Barbarians* and *Scythians* goe beyond vs herein, and haue some ordinances, we none.

What should I then compare? Should I praise, or exhort men to the *Roman* discipline? It is not only good, but the best of all, that haue bene, that shall be, giuen from heauen for an example. Let wise men meet, and sit in councell, they cannot in conceit, in writing, comprehend a fuller, a better. Exhort I then to the vse thereof? As our men and manners are I dare not. It is enough, if in generall I induce any forme of Discipline; without which there can be not only no perfection or successe, but scarcely any name of seruice. Other are robberies, which men exercise without law, right, or measure. I would be loth to call ours by that name (neither indeed ought I, the cause being good) but in good sooth wee touch not the line of the other. I haue made three parts of Discipline; *Duties*, *Exercise*, and *Lawes*. They are severally to be considered, and whether there be any good in them to serue our purposes.

Duties.
Guards.

Duties extend to *Guards*, *Ministeries*, *Workes*, and to those things whereof I haue intreated at large. For *Guards*, wee haue some shew, and that not ill digested. Yet doe I beleeue, that in time past there haue bene better or safer: as the *Stations* before the gates of the campe, the *Guard-tallies*, the continuall *Round*, the relieuing of *Guards*, the differences and diuision of houres, and such like, which an industrious Generall may marke and put in practise.

Ministeries.

Ministeries are either out of date amongst vs, or else voluntarie and without law. Yet who can deny, but that such like may with comelinesse be vsed towards the *Coronels* and *Commanders* without vexation of the Souldiers, being parted amongst them by turnes?

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Workes.

But *Workes* are the chiefe and most profitable, yea the most necessarie part, not only for victorie, but also for safetie. And yet why is entrenching of the Campe altogether cast off? Wee set downe open and without any certaine order, and when we will seeme more circumspect, we inclose our selues with our carriage, both an inuention and terme Barbarous. But see me the *Roman* Campe, so formed, so quartered out; how beautifull is it in sight, apt for vse, strong against all incursion and force of the enemy? How many of our owne and stranger-armies haue bene cut in peeces, or put to flight by carelesnesse herein? And euen of late those gallant Christian forces at the *Donaui*, whom the most cruell enemy surprised on the sudden. Say I beseech you if the *Roman* Campe and *Guards* had bene there, would this haue happened?

But they like not, or rather are ashamed to be Labourers. Should a Souldier put his hand to the Spade? It is an ignominy. Away, hire them that list to fall to such drudgerie. These be their words. But whose? You would thinke them of the blood Royall at the least, or else men of great riches. Yet looke vpon them, you shall perceiue them most abiect of all other, whom Need and Despaire haue compelled to seruice. My fellow, art thou ashamed to doe that, which many excellent men, yea Senators haue done? This pettie conceit, wherewith they couer their sloth, will packe away with one onely warning or Proclamation of a Prince. No man will hold that reproachfull, which shall be done in common, which shall be done by the better sort, and sometimes by commanders themselues, for example sake: *Polybius* cometh to my minde; who writeth, that a man is counted *Most wise of all liuing creatures*, but hee esteemeth him *most foolish*: Because other things if they once offend, take heed. The Fox will hardly bee brought againe to the snare, nor the Wolfe to the pit-fall, nor the Dog to the staffe. Onely man from age to age doth faile almost in the same things. Let mee apply this to vs and our affaires. What profit is more apparent, than of these *Workes*? What more common in Writings and Bookes? Yet wee neglect them, and had rather cast away our selues, than our opinions.

And concerning *Workes*, how profitable are they without the Campe, being the only meanes and remedie, neuer deceiuing against great Ordinance, and to make your approches without perill to any Citie. *Workes* are of wonderfull effect to blocke vp Townes, to defend your selfe in them against the enemy; and with *Workes* you may performe that, which otherwise is not to be done with great Bands of men. They haue likewise their place in the battell, either to fortifie your selfe suddenly on any side against the enemy, or to traine and draw him on, or else to make an orderly retreat. You shall reade that trenches were cast by *Sylla*, against the sudden circumention of *Mithridates* huge Armie and infinite multitude of Horse. And that the like was done by *Cesar* vpon another reason and occasion. What need

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words?

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words? The effect will proue the saying of *Domitius Corbulo* true, that *An enemy is to be overcome with the spade*, that is, with *Workes*. Would God we had mindes to trie, and to lead the Souldier hither by little and little, and that one would not be faultie herein by the example of another.

Exercise.

The second thing in Discipline is Exercise. That also is neglected of vs. Where are our Field-teachers? Where is our daily meditation of Armes? And when no man professeth an Art, which he hath not learned, men thinke they perfect in warre alone, as soone as they come to it. The Drum is stricke, they runne together, their names are entred in the muster-booke, they disguise themselues in apparell, they looke grim vpon the matter, they play the Ruffians, and bouse it out in drinke, streight way they are become Souldiers. Are these things to be laughed at, or pitied? Goe, goe, you that be wise to our forefathers, and by their example fashion your Souldiers in all manner and kinds of Armes. For neither the length of age (as *Vegetius* saith) nor number of yeeres doe teach the Art of Warre, but continuall meditation of exercise. An unexercised Souldier is alwaies raw, though he haue serued neuer so long.

Lawes.

The Lawes are last. Come hither my Commanders, shew me your Lawes, that I may match them with the *Roman* Lawes. Why are you so silent? Haue you none, or few? Those that you haue are they voide, and without effect? Truly this is our life:

Iust ruleth in stead of Law, and the Sword challengeth the place of Right. Who at this day punisheth Theft? Who Rapes? Nay who Murther? For Whoredome and Adulterie are now counted braue exploits, and worthy to be rewarded with a Crowne. If I speake of abstinence and frugalitie in Diet, I shall be scorned with the tongue out; of swearing or periurie, I shall be thrust out of doores by the head and shoulders. Shametastnesse and honour, whither are you gone? How are you banished from the most part of our Europe-seruice. I protest againe, my complaint and accusation is not against the good. I write against you, you spots and wems of noble *Mars*, which make the warres a refuge and sanctuarie for your villanies. I haue sufficiently declared, that the *Romans* held another course. There Iustice, Chastitie, and Innocencie, dwelt in Campe, and their Souldiers were in no place fierce and violent, but against the enemy. I rip not vp those things, which I a while agoe spake of. But truly they are such, as albeit many will debase in speech, yet can they not but extoll them in minde. And yet who is so haire-brained that dares controll them? They doe not so, but say that those times are gone; that this age requires other manners. O good and sweet conceites. As though men were other now, then they were wont, or another reason gouerned, and that which is iust not iust in all ages, and so that which is vniust. The matter is, they are hardly laid vnto being enioined to abstinence from outrage and vices, to turne their hands against Enemies, not Citizens, to reserue their strength for *Mars*, not for *Venus*; in summe not to consume their entertainment or pay in dicing, lewdnesse,

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lewdnesse, and gluttonie. Concerning which pay, it comes fitly to my minde to admonish, that the ancient warriors would be sure to take heed not to commit all to the Souldiers hands; but, as *Vegetius* saith; *It was diuinely ordained, that halfe should be sequestred to be laid up with the Ensigne, and reserued there for the Souldiers, lest it might be consumed by their Cabin-mates in lawisnesse and idle expences.* O excellent, and as he tearweth it, *Diuine Ordinance*, carying with it a double profit, and that most euident; namely, to make the Souldier more continent, and sparing, lesse giuen to wantonnesse, banquetting, and companie, and to make him fight with greater courage in defence of the Ensigne, *According to mans nature* (as the same Authour noteth) *which euer hath more care of that wherein he seeth his Wealth lie.* Which thing I also obserue to haue beene practised by a *Grecian* Generall, named *Iphycrates*. *Polyenus* writeth of him, that in paying his Souldiers, he with-held euerie month *A fourth part*, and retained it for a pledge, lest they should easily forsake the Armie. And so he had both his Companies full, and his Souldiers rich. Who seeth not that this may or rather ought to be practised in our loose manners, seeing that otherwise our Souldiers being, as it were, gloriously prodigall, continue, though seruing neuer so long, alwaies poore and needie, and would be alwaies readie to sterue, if they had not libertie to spoile. These things, and the like, might easily be imitated by vs, if we had a little higher mindes, and as the Poet saith, our hearts seasoned with *Noble honestie*.

Now it is knowne how *Rewards* and *Punishment* excite and bridle, which whole kinde is omitted by vs through carelesnesse and indulgence. If the rewards of Promotion were againe brought to their right course, it would doe much good, and that without any expence of the Treasurie. I speake of this kinde, as when a Souldier for his vertue ascendeth by degrees, and a difference is betwixt the Captaines themselues. If some little aduantage were adioined to their places, how would it inflame the lower sort of Souldiers?

Lastly Crownes, and Chaines, and those other things particularized by me, together with publike commendation and praise would transport ingenuous mindes not only to danger, but to death it selfe. Notwithstanding I would not haue punishment omitted.

Vertue cannot rise, where Vice accompanieth it with equall pace.

And Souldiers are to be held in with a sharpe and seuer kinde of chastisement.

From whence are so many Rebellions and Mutinies, Threatnings and Weapons bent against their owne Commanders? From want of punishment, and from too much libertie. And albeit other causes be pretended, these are the true and inward causes. Let them be repressed with punishment, and a Souldier learne more to feare his Generall, than his Enemy.

I haue enough weighed these things in the true Ballance of Comparison, especially being so vnequall. I exhort againe that they be put in practise.

But

Rewards.
Punishment

A Comparison &c.

But whom doe I exhort? I wish he, that hath interest, and whom
I marke out with these eyes of my minde, were present, and had
the hearing of all, that hath beene discoursed. But that re-
steth in the *Divine Providence*: heare he, or heare
he not, right and reason will heare, and ap-
proue the practise, reuenge the
sighting and contempt
of them.

FINIS.



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